History

of

Hampton Court Palace

in

Orange and Guelph Times

HISTORY OF HAMPTON COURT PALACE

IN ORANGE AND GUELPH TIMES.

ALLEGORICAL PICTURE OF WILLIAM III. LANDING AT MARGATE, IN 1698, AFTER THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

From the Picture by Kneller in William III.'s Presence Chamber at Hampton Court (*see page* 153).

THE

HISTORY

OF

Hampton Court Palace.

VOL. III.

ORANGE AND GUELPH TIMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS, ETCHINGS, MAPS, AND PLANS.

BY

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Preface.

THE following pages form the third and concluding volume of the History of Hampton Court, taking up the subject from the expulsion of James II., and carrying it on, down to the present time.

The period thus embraced is, in many respects, quite as interesting, as far as Hampton Court is concerned, as the Tudor or Stuart Times; for it was in the reign of William and Mary, and under their supervision, that the greater part of the old State Apartments were pulled down; the new Palace, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, erected; and the parks and gardens laid out in the form, in which we now behold them; while from that time to the middle of the reign of George II., Hampton Court was one of the favourite resorts of the English Court, and the scene of many curious occurrences.

This history besides is not closed when the Palace finally ceased, on the death of George II., to be inhabited by the Sovereign and Court; for its annals are continued down to the end of the year 1890, several chapters being devoted to

an account of its occupation by private individuals, of whom reminiscences and anecdotes are given; and to a description of Hampton Court as a popular resort.

Like its predecessors, this volume aims at giving, not only a full history of the structure of the Palace, but also a complete narrative of all the historical events, that took place within its walls, during the period treated of. Its scope is likewise designed to include such an account of its various artistic and archæological features, as may serve to invest the incidents related, with a local "colouring," which, it is hoped, may add to their vividness and interest, and assist the author in his efforts to present a true and faithful picture of life at Hampton Court in former days.

With the same object the text is profusely illustrated with original drawings, specially executed for this work; with engravings from old historical pictures; with numerous reproductions from contemporary plates and sketches of the Palace and gardens; and with plans, maps, and designs.

The bulk of these have been executed by the Typographic Etching Company; those, however, on pages 58, 84, 93, 294, 345, 352, and 393 are taken, by permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Co., from the "English Illustrated Magazine;" those on pages 89 and 128, by that of the proprietors of "The Graphic;" while the plate on page 37, of Queen Mary's Bower, has been reproduced, by that of the Electrotype Company.

In an Appendix is a list of the Private Apartments in the Palace, with the names of all their occupants, during during the last 130 years, with notes on their lives; and also an exhaustive index to the whole three volumes.

In conclusion, the author again wishes to express his warm thanks to Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, K.C.B., Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household, who has most

cordially rendered him every assistance and facility for pursuing his researches; to Mr. John Lessels, Surveyor to the Board of Works, who has given him much valuable information and advice in many particulars, especially in regard to the plans and designs, and has most kindly furnished him with several facsimiles; and to Mr. Edwin Chart, the Resident Clerk of the Works, who has aided him greatly in his investigations into the archæology of the Palace.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE,
August, 1891.

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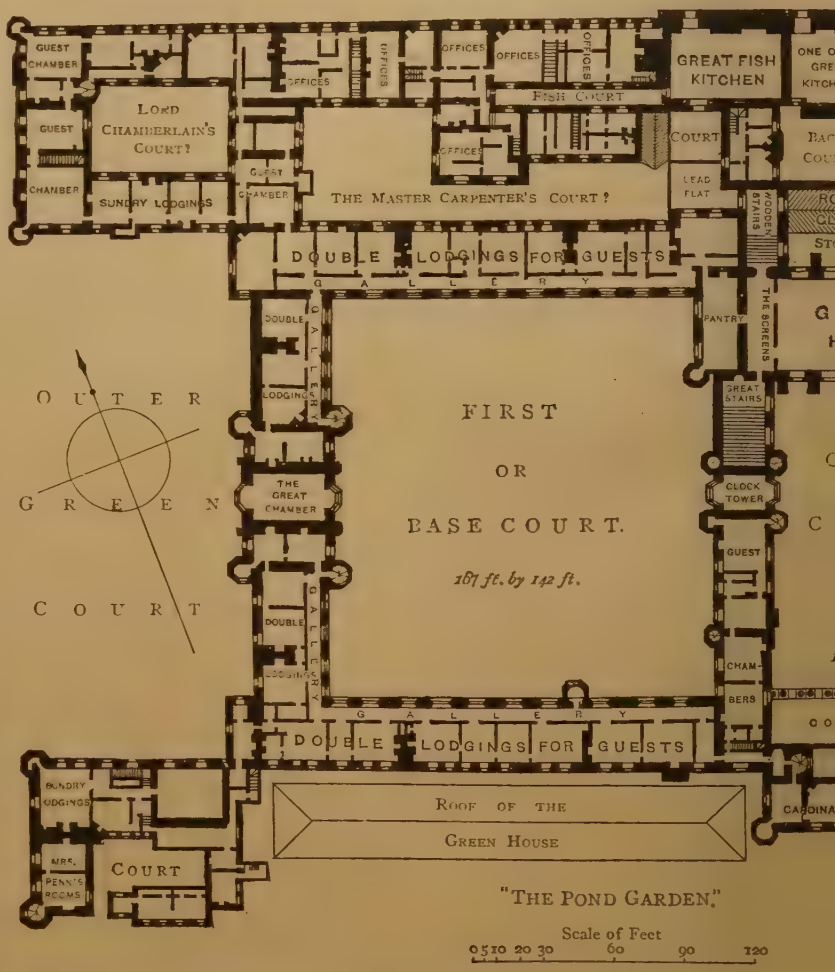

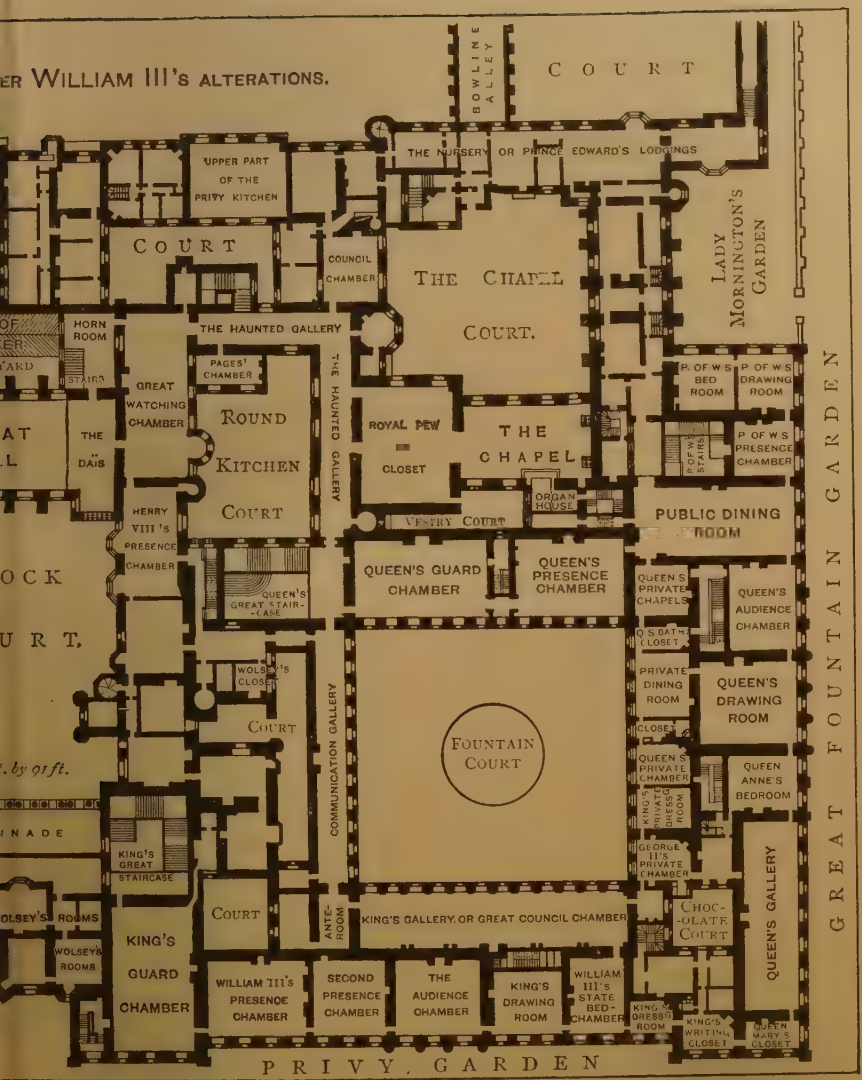
ER WILLIAM III'S ALTERATIONS.
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COURT
THE NURSERY OR PRINCE EDWARD'S LODGINGS
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COURT
COUNCIL CHAMBER
THE CHAPEL COURT.
LADY MORNINGTON'S GARDEN
HORN ROOM
THE HAUNTED GALLERY
THE HAUNTED GALLERY
PAGES' CHAMBER
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QUEEN'S AUDIENCE CHAMBER
Q'S BATH CLOSET
PRIVATE DINING ROOM
QUEEN'S DRAWING ROOM
WOLSEY'S CLOSET
COURT
FOUNTAIN COURT
CLOSET
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QUEEN ANNE'S BEDROOM
KING'S PRIVATE DRESSING ROOM
COMMUNICATION GALLERY
KING'S GREAT STAIRCASE
GEORGE II'S PRIVATE CHAMBER
COURT
CHOCOLATE COURT
QUEEN'S GALLERY
WOLSEY'S ROOMS
WOLSEY'S ROOMS
ANTE-ROOM
KING'S GALLERY, OR GREAT COUNCIL CHAMBER
KING'S GUARD CHAMBER
WILLIAM III'S PRESENCE CHAMBER
SECOND PRESENCE CHAMBER
THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER
KING'S DRAWING ROOM
WILLIAM III'S STATE BED-CHAMBER
KING'S DRESSING ROOM
KING'S WRITING CLOSET
QUEEN MARY'S CLOSET
PRIVY GARDEN
GREAT FOUNTAIN GARDEN

HISTORY

OF

HAMPTON COURT PALACE,

IN ORANGE AND GUELPH TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM AND MARY AT HAMPTON COURT.

William and Mary come to Hampton Court—Mary's Conduct at the Palace—King William shocks English Religious Prejudices—Building of New Royal Apartments determined on—Sir Christopher Wren entrusted with the Design—Difficulties of Wren's Task—Regrettable Demolition of the Old State Rooms—Arrival of the Princess Anne—William III.'s "Brutalities" and "Vulgar Behaviour"—Greedily gobbles up a Plate of Green Peas—His Mode of Life at the Palace—A Camp on Hounslow Heath—Rumoured Conspiracy—Dissatisfaction at William staying so much at Hampton Court—Princess Anne brought to Bed of a Boy—The Child baptized in the Chapel, and named William, Duke of Gloucester—His Sickliness—A Succession of Wet-Nurses—Mrs. Pack, the Quaker's Wife—Mother and Child remove to Kensington.

THE accession of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the English throne marks as great an epoch in the history of Hampton Court as it does in that of England, for it was during their reign, and under their superintendence, that the greater part of the old Tudor State Apartments was pulled

down, the new Palace erected, and the parks and gardens laid out in the form in which we behold them at present.

Until their proclamation as King and Queen, on February 13th, 1689—the day after Mary's arrival in London, and three months after the landing of William at Torbay—William had been too engrossed with affairs of state to find time to visit any of the royal palaces out of London; but when once firmly seated on his father-in-law's throne, he began to look about him for some place where, without being too far away from his ministers, he might be free from the press and crowd of Whitehall, and give full indulgence to his unsociable inclinations.

With this object in view he soon turned his attention to Hampton Court, and, ten days after the proclamation, came down with the Queen to spend two or three days here.[1]

With its situation, and the aspect of the surrounding landscape, William was at once captivated: for not only did the flatness of the country remind him of the scenery of his own dear home in Holland, but even from the very palace windows he could look out on a long straight canal, fringed with avenues of lime trees, such as met his eye at Haarlem and the Hague. The seclusion of the place also, combined with its convenient proximity to the capital, rendered it just such a residence as he was in search of.

Accordingly, after paying several short visits to this Palace, he and Queen Mary moved hither for a more prolonged stay, at the beginning of March.[2] The first we hear of them after their retirement is from Lord Clarendon, Queen Mary's uncle, who—after recording how she showed

[1] Saturday, Feb. 23rd, 1689.—*London Gazette;* Clarendon's *Diary.*

[2] Almost at once after their first visit, Narcissus Luttrell records, in his *Relation of State Affairs*, vol. i.: "Their Majesties go frequently to Hampton Court, taking great delight in that place."

her dislike and hostility towards him and his brother, by at first refusing to see either of them, though the King treated them civilly enough—goes on to say, "In the evening, [March 3rd, 1689,] my brother Laurence[1] told me that he had been to Hampton Court, where King William had at last presented him to the Queen, but it was in the crowd, as she came from the Chapel-royal in that Palace. He kissed her hand, and that was all."[2]

While William was attending to business, Mary amused herself by inspecting everything, walking out five or six miles a day, superintending the gardening, making fringe, and playing basset, and doubtless doing as she had done at Whitehall, on her first arrival as Queen, where she went from room to room, looking at all the arrangements, and sleeping in the same bed where the Queen of James II. had slept. The Duchess of Marlborough, who was in attendance on her when she first arrived, tells us that she ran about "looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the beds, as people do when they come into an inn, and with no other sort of concern in her appearance but such as they express."[3] Evelyn's testimony is to a like effect:—"She smiled upon all, and talked to everybody; so that no change seemed to have taken place at Court as to queens, save that infinite throngs of people came to see her, and that she went to our prayers."[4] In this last particular, however, the zeal of the newly-installed sovereigns rather outran their discretion; for it was complained of the Queen that her Protestant feeling was so deep as to lead her to

[1] Laurence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester. He married in 1663 Henrietta Boyle, daughter of Richard, Earl of Cork and Burlington. Her portrait is among the Beauties of Charles II.'s Court, in William III.'s State Bedchamber. See No. 197, *Historical Catalogue*, p. 62.

[2] *Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii., p. 267, 4to. ed. 1828.

[3] *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 115, ed. 1742.

[4] Evelyn's *Diary*.

suppress the fiddlers and other musicians who used to play in the Chapel-royal; while the King set his face against any church music at all, and deeply offended the prejudices of English ecclesiastics by adhering to the Dutch custom of wearing his hat in chapel.

It was here, also, that he shocked the religious feelings of many of his new subjects by scoffing at the old English custom of touching for the King's evil—a superstition consecrated by the usage of centuries, and sanctioned by the highest authorities in the Church. The close of Lent was the usual time for the ceremony; and the fact of the King being at twelve miles' distance from London did not prevent a crowd of poor scrofulous wretches flocking from the capital to Hampton Court, to crave the magical virtue of the kingly touch. They received, however, but little medical consolation at the end of their laborious journey. "It is a silly superstition," exclaimed William; "give the poor creatures some money, and let them go."[1]

Previous to this, Queen Mary had written to a friend of hers in Holland, giving her impressions of Hampton Court, and saying that, though the air was very good, the place had been much neglected, and was, in her opinion, wanting in many of the conveniences of a modern palace.[2] William was of the same opinion. "The King," says Burnet,[3] "found the air of Hampton Court agreed so well with him, that he resolved to live the greatest part of the year there; but that Palace was so very old built and so irregular, that a design was formed of raising new buildings there for the King and Queen's apartments." That he must have come to this

[1] Macaulay's *History*, chap. xiv., quoting *Athenian Mercury*, Jan. 16th, 1691, and *Paris Gazette*, April 23rd. See also Lamberty's *Mémoires de la Dernière Révolution en Angleterre*, vol. ii., p. 216.

[2] *Lettres de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre à M^lle. la Baronne de Wassenaer D'Obdam. Conservées aux archives des Barons de Heeckeren de Wassenaer au chateau de Twickel*, p. 116, March 5th.

[3] *Memoirs of His Own Times.*

resolution almost immediately after his first visit to the Palace is clear from the fact that the works had already been begun as early as the beginning of April.[1]

The architect to whom was entrusted the designing of the new apartments was Sir Christopher Wren, by whose aid he hoped to rear an edifice that might in some degree vie with, if it could not excel, the palatial splendours of Versailles. This, of course, determined the architectural style of the building, which—our own old English Gothic being then in great disrepute—was to be that of the debased Renaissance of Louis XIV. Wren's task was, as a consequence, no easy one; for he had to unite his own to another work, totally different in style, and yet do so in such a manner as to maintain an appearance of consistency in the whole design, and to exhibit no glaring incongruity. This result, at any rate—whatever we may think of the new building in other respects—Wren, it must be confessed, has been pretty successful in attaining; partly through having employed red brick, with dressings of white stone in the windows, doors, and string courses, as in the old Tudor work, and partly, also, by arranging the new buildings into the shape of a quadrangle, in conformity with the plan of Henry VIII.'s old Cloister Green Court, on the site of which Wren's new State Apartments stand.

When we learn that, in addition to working with these fetters on his constructive skill, Wren had to consult William III.'s taste in everything, and to defer to his sovereign's judgment instead of following his own, it is not surprising that the building, as it was finally completed, should scarcely be worthy of the great architect's genius.

Horace Walpole, indeed, tells us,[2] on the authority of a descendant of Sir Christopher's, that he submitted another

[1] See *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 294, *Works and Buildings at Hampton Court.*

[2] *Anecdotes of Painting.*

design for the alteration of the ancient palace "in a better taste, which Queen Mary wished to have executed, but was overruled." If this, however, means that an imitation of the old Tudor building was projected, we cannot but be glad, with Wren's mock Gothic towers at Westminster before our eyes, that the style selected was one with which he was more familiar. In any case, it is much to be regretted that King William should have deemed it advisable to order the destruction of Henry VIII.'s old state rooms, with the galleries, towers, and turrets appurtenant to them; which, as we have observed in our earlier volumes, comprised the most interesting parts of the old Palace, and were impressed with the historic associations of two centuries. The new apartments he wished to build might, one would suppose, have been erected without any demolition of the older structure.

Altogether, we heartily wish that William of Orange, foreigner as he was, had never thought of laying his irreverent hand at all on the ancient home of our English Kings and Queens. That he should have had any sentimental feeling about preserving and perpetuating the charming old red-brick courts with their mullioned windows, quaint gables, and moulded chimney shafts, or the curious chambers in which so many interesting events had occurred —with their fretted ceilings, their latticed casements, their old stained glass, and their gorgeous tapestries—could not be expected; but, leaving the old Palace intact, he might have carried out instead the idea, which he is believed to have entertained at one time, of erecting an entirely new Palace at the west end of the town of Hampton, on an elevation about half a mile from the river Thames,[1] which design, however, is said to have been abandoned

[1] Probably at Kempton Park, formerly called Kennington, Col Kennington, and Chenetone in *Domesday Book*, where there was at one time

on account of the time necessary for such an undertaking.

However this may be, we can say for certain that William and Mary's existing quadrangle was far from being the whole building that the King and his architect contemplated erecting at Hampton Court. For it is expressly stated in Wren's "Parentalia" that the apartments built for the King and Queen were "a part only of the Surveyor's design for a new Palace there;" and in the Office of Her Majesty's Works there is preserved a careful and detailed plan—probably drawn by the hand of Sir Christopher himself—for a magnificent new Entrance Court to the Palace, on the north side, and an approach to it from Bushey Park, which improvements would doubtless have been carried out, as essential adjuncts to the new apartments actually erected—to say nothing of schemes still more grand and extensive, which we shall notice in a subsequent chapter—had not want of money delayed the works, and the death of King William supervened, before his projects were completed.

The fact that we do not, therefore, see Wren's entire design should be borne in mind when criticising his work at Hampton Court, especially if we are disposed to find fault with the insignificance of the approach.

While William and Mary were busying themselves with plans and suggestions for the new buildings, preparations were actively going on in London for their coronation,[1] and in view of that great event, their Majesties publicly received the sacrament in the Chapel at Hampton Court from the hands of the Archbishop of York, on the 31st of March.

a royal palace. See vol. i., p. 13, of this history; Brewer's *London and Middlesex*, vol. x., part iv., p. 492; and Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, pp. 270, 271. Wren's *Parentalia*.

[1] Luttrell's *Diary*. William went to London on April 9th to naturalize Schomberg and other of his followers, and returned to Hampton Court again the same evening. Lamberty's *Mémoires de la Dernière Révolution en Angleterre*, vol. ii., p. 235.

A few days after, they went to London for their coronation in Westminster Abbey, on April 11th; but they soon returned to the Palace again.[1]

Here they were soon joined by the Princess Anne, who took up her abode at Hampton Court, where a suite of rooms had been prepared for her reception,[2] in expectation of her approaching confinement. But in spite of her condition, she was treated with no civility or kindness by her sister and her brother-in-law, and sometimes with positive disrespect and indignity, William not only refusing to let her have the allowance settled on her, but scarcely giving her enough for her commonest wants. "I could fill many sheets," says the Duchess of Marlborough, "with the brutalities that were done to the Princess in this reign. William III. was, indeed, so ill-natured, and so little polished by education, that neither in great things nor in small had he the manners of a gentleman. I give an instance of his worse than vulgar behaviour at his own table, when the Princess dined with him. It was in the beginning of his reign, and some weeks before the Princess was put to bed of the Duke of Gloucester. There happened to be just before her a plate of green peas, the first that had been seen that year. The King, without offering the Princess the least share of them, drew the plate before him and devoured them all. Whether he offered any to the Queen I cannot say, but he might have done that safely enough, for he knew she durst not touch one. The Princess Anne confessed, when she came home, that she had so much mind for the peas that she was afraid to look at them, and yet could hardly keep her eyes off them."[3]

[1] *London Gazette* and *Lettres de Marie d'Angleterre*, p. 103, April $\frac{14}{24}$, 1689. *Lord Chamberlain's Warrants*, 1689.

[2] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2442, Roll 122, April 1688 to March 1689. Lamberty, vol. ii., p. 468.

[3] *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.*

The regal dinner hour was half-past one, or two at the latest. Supper took place at half-past nine; if Queen Mary had to write a letter or despatch at eleven at night, she could not keep her eyes open. As a reminiscence of their routine life at Hampton Court this spring may be quoted the following feeble lines of the day:—

"*A Description of a Hampton Court Life*, 1689. *By Fleet*[*wood*] *Shepheard.*"

Man and wife are all one
In flesh and bone,
From hence you may guess what they mean;
The Queen drinks chocolate
To make the King fat,
The King hunts to make the Queen lean.

Mr. Dean he says grace
With a reverend face,
"Make room," crys Sir Thomas Duppa,[1]
Then Benting up-locks
His King in a box,
And you see him no more till supper.[2]

Occasionally their Majesties paid a visit together to London for the day, while the King at other times went to greater distances; for instance, on the 14th of May, he and Prince George of Denmark went to inspect the fleet mustered at Portsmouth,[3] in view of the declaration of war against France, which had been issued from Hampton Court the week before.[4]

[1] Sir Fleetwood Shepherd was Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod; and Sir T. Duppa, Gentleman Usher to King William. *Lord Chamberlain's Warrants.*

[2] *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 852, p. 195.

[3] Clarendon's *Diary;* Luttrell's *Diary;* and *London Gazette.*

[4] On May 17th. *Complete History of Europe*, 1676-1700; and Lamberty's *Mémoires de la Dernière Révolution*, vol. ii., p. 385.

At one time they had intended, after the prorogation of the Convention Parliament, which took place on August 20th, to remove to Windsor Castle for a while, on account of the dust caused by the demolition of the walls of the old Palace, which smothered the Queen's apartments.[1] But this intention had to be abandoned, by reason of an outbreak of smallpox in the royal borough. Remaining here, the King occupied himself with almost daily visits to a camp[2] which he had ordered to be formed on Hounslow Heath on August 13th, and which was composed of some six thousand men, both English and Dutch, consisting of "10 battalions of foot and 6 squadrons of horse and dragoons." On the 17th he came over from Hampton Court to review them. "The English had the post of honour, His Majestie, after having exercised them, rode to the head of the English, and told them in effect that he wholly relied on them, and hoped they would endeavour to preserve his person and secure the Protestant religion: which was concluded with shouts from the army"—"avec les cris accutumez d'Angleterre," as Lamberty expresses it. Two days after "the army decamped from Hounslow Heath."[3]

On another occasion, later on, we hear of him visiting the Queen Dowager, Catherine of Braganza, "at her country house between Hampton Court and London,"[4] a visit to be noted, because while there he received intelligence of a supposed plot against his life and government. The alarm was founded on an anonymous letter received by the Countess of Monmouth, giving information that the Catholics intended, on the night of Sunday, July 21st, to attempt the life of the King, set fire to Whitehall and other places in

[1] Lamberty, vol. ii., p. 554:—"Les bâtimens qu'on faisoit à Hampton Court, rendant les apartemens de la Reine fort poudreux," &c.

[2] Luttrell, vol. i., p. 570.

[3] Luttrell, vol. i., pp. 570-71.

[4] So Lamberty expresses it; but we cannot find that she inhabited any other house at this time but Somerset House.

London, and seize the Tower.[1] Lady Monmouth handed the letter to her husband, who took it to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who sent it to the King; whereupon William doubtless hastened back to the Queen and Court at Hampton Court, where it was deemed prudent to take precautions.[2] Several companies of infantry and cavalry were kept under arms, all night, round about the Palace, the guards were doubled, and all persons entering were rigorously scrutinized and questioned. The night, however, passed off quite quietly, the scare soon abated, and nothing more was ever heard of the conspiracy. The whole thing was probably nothing more than one of those bogus "Popish Plots," so often invented by the ultra-Protestants, with the object of exciting terror and hatred against the Catholics.

But, except for such brief excursions, William was rarely seen beyond the precincts of Hampton Court, and great dissatisfaction was already beginning to be expressed, in various quarters, at the King's spending so little of his time in London. Even his ardent supporter, Bishop Burnet, is constrained to admit the justice of the complaint. "The King," he says, "a very few days after he was set on the throne, went out to Hampton Court, and from that palace came into town only on council days: so that the face of a court and the rendezvous, usual in the public rooms, was now quite broken. This gave an early and general disgust. The gaiety and diversions of a court disappeared." The founding of an English Versailles was, in fact, an idea in every way repugnant to the ordinary Londoner; "and," as the Bishop adds, "the entering so soon on so expensive a building afforded matter of censure to those who were disposed enough to entertain it."[3]

[1] Luttrell, vol. i., p. 561.
[2] Lamberty, vol. ii., p. 512.
[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. ii., p. 2.

Reresby[1] also mentions that Lord Halifax, the minister, told him "that the King's inaccessibleness and living so at Hampton Court altogether, and at so active a time, ruined all business; that he had desired him to be in town sometimes." He pointed out to him also the inconvenience it entailed on his ministers, who, every time they went to see him, lost five hours in going and coming.[2] But the King would listen to no remonstrances. "Do you wish to see me dead?" he asked, peevishly.

His absence from the seat of government was the more inconsiderate at this time, as a question of the very highest importance was just then being debated, namely, what should be the provisions of the Bill of Rights, especially whether the crown should be entailed on the Electress Sophia and her issue.

This last point was rendered the more pressing as misgivings were beginning to arise whether the Princess Anne would ever have a child at all,[3] in which case the ultimate chances of the descendants of the Electress would be of more immediate interest.

But in the middle of the discussion all doubts were laid at rest. For on the 24th of July,—as announced in the "London Gazette,"—"about four o'clock in the morning, her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark was safely delivered of a son at Hampton Court. Queen Mary was

[1] *Memoirs*, May 5th.

[2] See also Lamberty (who being Portland's private secretary had access to the best information), vol. ii., pp. 203, 393: "My Lord Halifax representa au Roi que le séjour de Hampton Court étoit surtout incommode aux conseillers privez, qui toutes les fois quils alloient, perdoient cinq heures à aller et venir." See also Macaulay's *History*, chap. xi., who cites in addition an extract from a letter of Avaux to Croissy: "Le Prince d'Orange est toujours à Hampton Court, et jamais à la ville, et le peuple est fort mal satisfait de cette manière bizarre et retirée."

[3] "The Princess Anne of Denmark," says Evelyn, "is so monstrously swollen that it's doubted whether her being thought with child may prove a tympany only."

present the whole time of her labour, which lasted about three hours; and the King, with most of the persons of quality about the Court, came into her Royal Highness' bed-chamber before she was delivered. Her Royal Highness and the young Prince are very well, to the great satisfaction of their Majesties, and the joy of the whole Court, as it will, doubtless, be of the whole kingdom." [1]

The birth of a young prince—a fact which would, at any rate for a while, allay the national anxiety as to the succession—could not fail to be received with delight, not only by the partisans of the Revolution, but also by the many Englishmen whose chief concern was for a peaceful solution of the political difficulties. At various places the news was hailed with public rejoicings, with the ringing of bells, and the burning of bonfires.[2] William himself, in spite of the aversion with which he regarded the Princess Anne, was careful to mark his sense of the importance of the event by standing sponsor to the child, and giving him his own name, William. Compton, Bishop of London, formerly tutor to the Queen, was selected to perform the baptism; and the accomplished Dorset,[3] who was then Lord Chamberlain, and with whom the Princess had taken refuge just eight months before, when she deserted her father, represented the King of Denmark.[4] Lady Halifax, wife of the famous "Trimmer," now Lord Privy Seal, was godmother.

The ceremony took place on Saturday the 28th of July, in the evening, in the Chapel,[5] where just a hundred and fifty

[1] *London Gazette*. Luttrell mentions the news in almost identical terms. See also Lamberty, vol. ii., p. 527.

[2] Henry, Earl of Clarendon's *Diary*.

[3] Lady Dorset's picture by Kneller is is in King William's Presence Chamber, among the Hampton Court Beauties. See the author's *Historical Catalogue*.

[4] Macaulay presumes, from the meagre official announcement in the *London Gazette* and Luttrell, that Dorset was sponsor on his own account; but see Jenkins Lewis' *Life of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester;* and Lamberty, vol. ii., p. 527.

[5] *London Gazette*. The Register of Hampton Church gives the date of the baptism as July 27th.

years before had been baptized Henry VIII.'s infant son, Edward. The King declared at the font that he was to be known as the Duke of Gloucester, and that designation he bore ever after by usage, though there was no creation of the title, at any rate at that time, on account of his mother's regarding it as an ominously unlucky one.

There were grounds, however, more solid than mere superstition for uneasiness as to the fate of Anne's offspring; for from the very day of his birth it was evident that he was a very weakly child, and there was only too much reason to fear that he would never survive to sit on the throne. Jenkins Lewis, who afterwards became the young Prince's tutor, tells us of the number of wet-nurses that were called in, in quick succession, to suckle him; and he adds, with a somewhat superfluous particularity of detail, the reasons that led to the removal of each. After two or three changes, a Mrs. Wanley assumed "the office of wet nurse for six weeks, she being a handy good-tempered woman. All people now began to conceive hopes of the Duke living, when, lo! he was taken with convulsion fits, which followed so quick one after another, that the physicians from London despaired of his life. They ordered change of milk; and nurses with young children came, many at a time, several days together, from town, and the adjacent villages. Fresh orders were given for nurses, and each given five guineas." But all was of no avail, and the infant had been given over by the London doctors, when, among the countrywomen that attended, a certain "Mrs. Pack, the wife of a Quaker, came from Kingston Wick, with a young child in her arms of a month old, to speak of a remedy which had restored her children. As she sat in the Presence Room, Prince George of Denmark happened to pass by, and observing her to be a strong, healthy woman, he ordered her to go to the young Prince,

who soon suckled her, and mended that night, continuing well whilst she suckled him."[1]

The Duke of Gloucester's foster-brother, named Joel Pack, was after this brought up and educated by the bounty and direction of Anne and Prince George, and eventually was given a clerkship in the Admiralty.[2]

Queen Mary, notwithstanding the coolness that was springing up between herself and her sister, had been most assiduous in attending on Anne during her accouchement. In one of her recently published letters to her friend, which she wrote from here on August 10th, she excuses herself for not having written for some time by saying, "Les couches de ma sœur survenant, j'ay eu beaucoup à faire, les premiers quinze jours estant continuellement dans sa chambre, ou celui de l'enfant, ou entourée de monde qui venoit sur cette occasion, de sorte que vous vous pleindrez de moi avec plus de justice, que de manque de nouvelle."[3] When the Princess Anne was well enough to move, she looked out after a house near town fit for his nursery, and pitching on Kensington as a place of good air, she went to reside at Lord Craven's house there, which he lent her for the purpose.

[1] *Life of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester.*

[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. ccxv., No. 36.

[3] *Lettres de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre à Mlle. la Baronne de Wassenaer D'Obdam*, p. 118.

CHAPTER II.

COMMENCEMENT OF WREN'S NEW PALACE.

Demolition of the old Cloister Green Court—Foundations of the New Buildings—Their Ground Plan and Configuration—The New Fountain Court—The Semicircle of Lime-Trees before the East Front—The Great Fountain Garden—William and Mary's Interest in the Plans—The Royal Gardeners London and Wise—Audience to George Walker—Accident at the New Buildings—An Inquiry instituted—Sir Christopher Wren's Report—Acrimonious Discussion between Wren and Talman, the Comptroller of the Works—"Malicious Interpretation"—The Works resumed.

WHILE the events narrated in our preceding chapter were passing at Hampton Court, the works for the new Palace were being actively proceeded with; and by the time the Prince was born, the demolition of the old Cloister Green Court would appear to have been completed, and the foundations of the new building already laid. John Evelyn tells us that he went to Hampton Court on the 16th of July, 1689, on business, the Council being there, and that "a great apartment and spacious gardens with fountains was beginning in the Park at the head of the canal." [1]

The canal, which, as we stated in our second volume,[2] was

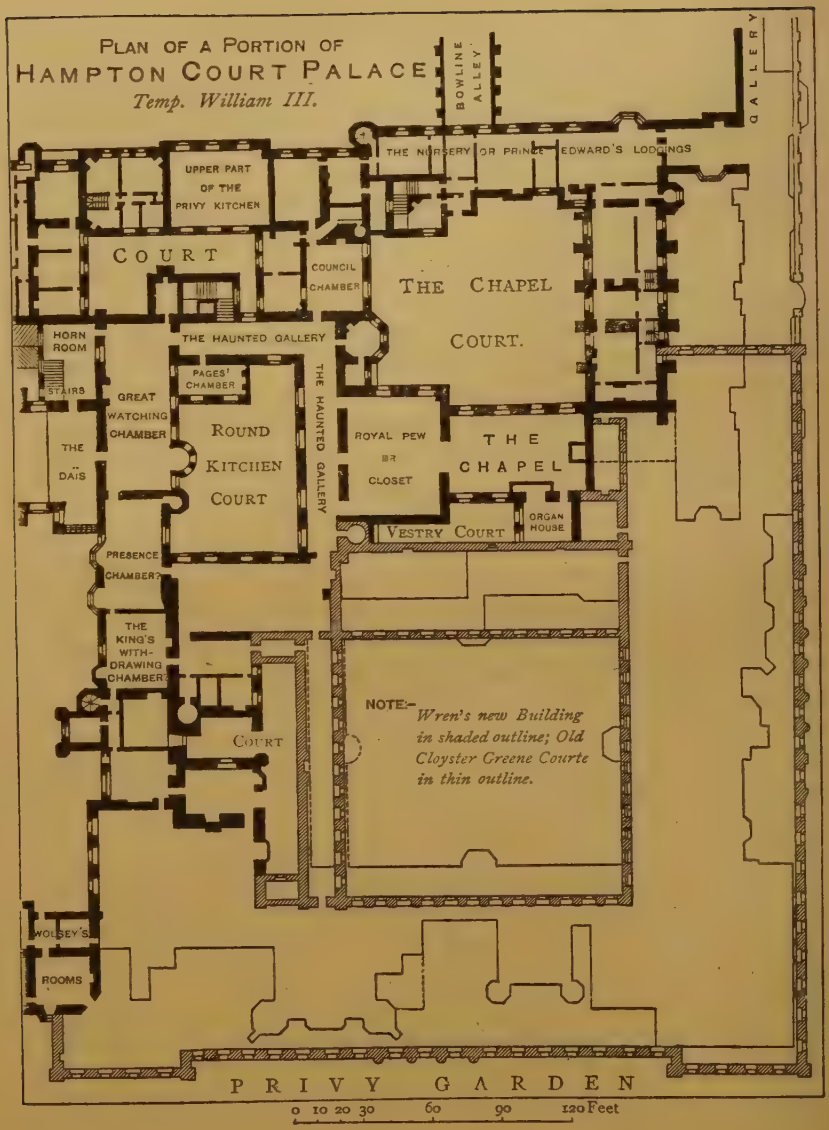
[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.

[2] P. 217.

dug by order of Charles II., and which originally reached close up to the old East Front of the Tudor Palace, had been laid out in such a direction as to make its central line intersect that frontage at right angles, exactly through the middle of the gateway. Naturally, therefore, this was now the ruling limitation in the planning of the foundations of Wren's new State Apartments, the intention being—as is clearly shown by a delineation made by Sir Christopher for William III., and preserved among his papers in the Library at All Souls' College, Oxford—that the line of the Long Canal, and those of the diverging side avenues, should converge on the centre point of the new East Front, where, of course, the main entrance on that side would be. The length of the East Front is 300 feet, and the width of the east range 76 feet. As the shape of the new buildings was to be rectangular, according to the rules of pseudo-classic architecture, the direction of the South Front was at once determined. Its length is 315 feet, and the width of the range 68 feet. Thus we have two of the sides of the new quadrangle; which was completed, on the north by a range 42 feet wide, built parallel to the Chapel, and on the west by a low connecting gallery or screen, 14 feet in width, not extending in height above the first floor, and erected only a few feet distant from the old western side of Henry VIII.'s Cloister Green Court.

The internal dimensions of this quadrangle—now known as "the Fountain Court"—do not, it is strange to say, form a perfectly rectangular space, for though the north and south sides are each 116 feet 10 inches long, the east and west sides differ in length to the extent of 13 inches, the east side being 110 feet 1 inch, while the west is only 109 feet long. How this arose, there is nothing to show.

The relative position of the lines of the old and the new


PLAN OF A PORTION OF
HAMPTON COURT PALACE
Temp. William III.
BOWLING ALLEY
GALLERY
THE NURSERY OR PRINCE EDWARD'S LODGINGS
UPPER PART OF THE PRIVY KITCHEN
COURT
COUNCIL CHAMBER
THE CHAPEL COURT.
HORN ROOM
THE HAUNTED GALLERY
PAGES' CHAMBER
STAIRS
GREAT WATCHING CHAMBER
ROUND KITCHEN COURT
THE HAUNTED GALLERY
ROYAL PEW
&
CLOSET
THE CHAPEL
THE DAIS
VESTRY COURT
ORGAN HOUSE
PRESENCE CHAMBER?
THE KING'S WITH-DRAWING CHAMBER
COURT
NOTE:- Wren's new Building in shaded outline; Old Cloyster Greene Courte in thin outline.
WOLSEY'S ROOMS
PRIVY GARDEN
0 10 20 30 60 90 120 Feet

buildings is shown on the accompanying plan, founded on one prepared by Sir Christopher Wren.

Such was the ground-plan of the edifice which Evelyn saw rising on the site of the recently demolished Tudor court; and from the configuration of the walls, so far as then completed, he can have seen that though the projected building might be grand, massive, and spacious, it would be wanting in most of the elements of originality or picturesqueness.

Of the architectural features of the elevation we shall have some more words to say further on: we may remark here, however, that by carrying back the two ranges on the east and south of the quadrangle, beyond the ends of the ranges on the north and west, an appearance is cleverly given to William III.'s addition to Hampton Court whereby it looks very much greater in size than it really is.

By the "spacious gardens with fountains beginning in the Park," Evelyn means the present Great Fountain or Public Garden, which lies on the east side of the Palace; and to make room for which, a couple of hundred yards or more of the western end of the canal must have been filled up, and the boundary of the park moved considerably to the eastward.

The preliminary steps towards forming a new garden out of the park had already been taken, it would seem, by Charles II. himself before his death, for Stephen Switzer, author of a book on gardening called "Ichnographia Rustica," assures us[1] "it is certain that Prince did plant the large semi-circle [of lime trees] before the Palace at Hampton Court, in pursuance of some great design he had formed in gardening;" adding that "the foundation of great designs being thus laid by their Royal Uncle, it was thought to be one great inducement" to William and Mary to take up their chief residence there.

[1] P. 75.

It was indeed a fine idea of King Charles's thus to link together the converging ends of the great avenues with a grand and bold curve of lime trees, which sweeping round to the line of the east front of the Palace, and to the walls of the old gardens, enclosed a great semicircular space of $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres: and the design of laying out this space as a splendid fountain-garden, was equally apt and judicious on the part of William and Mary.

The plan of the gardens, we are assured by Defoe in his account of Hampton Court in the "Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain," was "devised by the King himself; and especially the amendments and alterations were made by the King, or the Queen's special command or both, for their Majesties agreed so well in their fancy, and had both so good a judgment in the just proportion of things, which are the principal beauties of a garden, that it may be said they both ordered everything that was done."

In carrying out their magnificent scheme, they invoked the aid and advice of George London, a pupil of Rose, the famous gardener of the time of Charles II., and his successor in the post of Royal Gardener, to which he was appointed immediately after the Revolution, at a salary of £200, and in addition made a page of the backstairs to Queen Mary.[1] With London was associated another ingenious gardener named Henry Wise, who entered into a sort of partnership with him, and worked in conjunction with him in all the improvements that he carried out in the gardens and parks of Hampton Court. It is doubtless to London or Wise that Defoe alludes, when, in mentioning the gardening operations undertaken by William and Mary at Hampton Court at the beginning of their reign, he tells us that "the fine parcel of limes, which form the semicircle on the south [? east] front of the house, by the iron

[1] Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica*, p. 79.

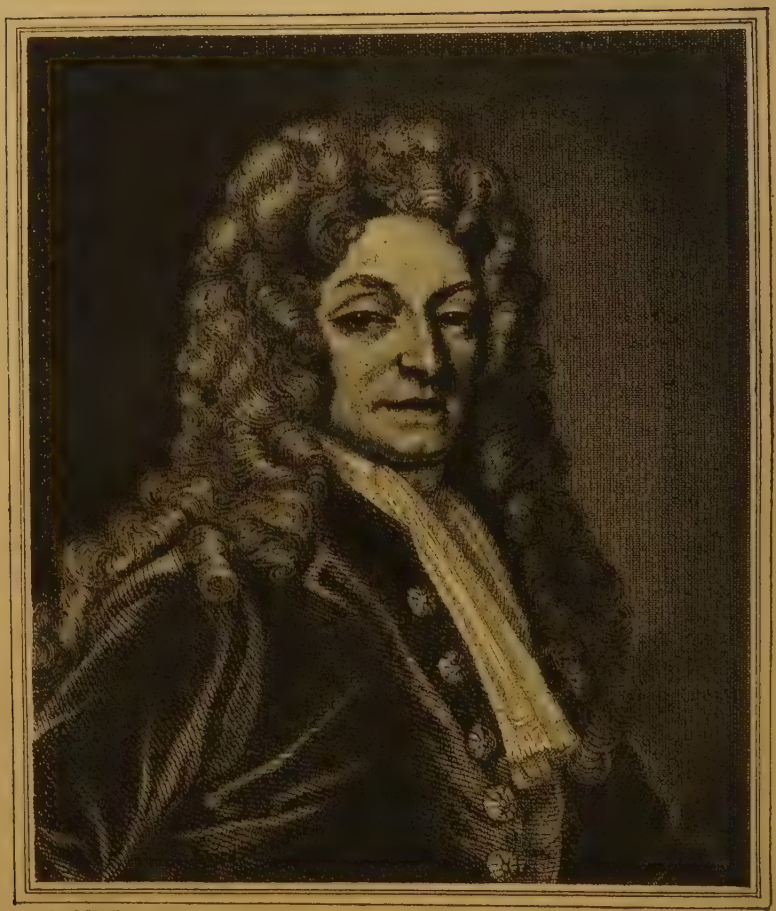
gates, looking into the park, were, by the dexterous hand of the head gardener removed, after some of them had been almost thirty years planted in other places, though not far off."

This remark—had we not the authority of Switzer for ascribing the great semicircle to Charles II.—would have led us to suppose that the lime trees in question were first planted at this time by William and Mary; but we conceive that on this point Switzer's positive and certain statement must be conclusive, as he shows intimate acquaintance with Hampton Court, and probably worked in these very gardens himself, under London and Wise, whose pupil he was, and whose works he details; while Defoe wrote thirty-five years after the event from hearsay information, which he may have misunderstood or misapplied.

It may, however, be that the semicircle was at this time enlarged and extended, and the lime trees shifted further eastward in the park; though it is equally probable that Defoe is alluding to the subsequent removal, in 1699 and 1700—five years after the death of Queen Mary—of those lime trees, which were on the circumference of the semicircle nearest the Palace, and the shifting of which was necessitated, as we shall see when we reach that period, by the extension of the gardens down to the river on the south, and to the Kingston Road on the north, so that the limes in front of the Palace no longer form a complete semicircle, but only a segment of one, and instead of reaching to the line of the façade, turn off at a distance of 50 yards from it, in a parallel direction. With this, however, we will deal more fully later on.[1]

Throughout the months of August and September William and Mary remained in seclusion at Hampton

[1] Pp. 106-8.



Sir: G. Kneller, pinx. E. Scriven, sc.

Sir Christopher Wren.

Court,[1] during which time there was little to disturb the even tenour of their lives beyond the conferring of knighthood on various individuals, who had proved themselves useful adherents to the House of Orange, and the giving of audiences to ambassadors and other persons of distinction.[2] One of these audiences deserves to be particularized, namely, when, on Thursday, the 29th of August, their Majesties received George Walker, the heroic defender of Londonderry, with many expressions of the sense they had of his great services; and, as a mark of their royal favour and bounty, the King gave him a present of five thousand pounds.[3]

On the last day of September, William left Hampton Court for Newmarket, in order to be present at the autumn meeting, and returned to the Palace on the 10th, quite "cleaned out," for besides having had a bad time of it on the racecourse, he was very "hard hit" at cards, at which he played every night, and lost as much as four thousand at one sitting.[4] A few days after, instigated perhaps by the remonstrances of his ministers and the complaints of the public against his being at a distance from London, he removed from this palace to Holland House for the winter.

Not long after their departure an accident occurred to the new buildings that were then being erected, by the falling down of a wall, by which three or four men lost their lives, and several more were injured. The accident is ascribed by Luttrell to "the slightnesse of the wall."[5] At any rate,

[1] See as to William III. at Hampton Court, Macaulay, *History*, chap. xi.; Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, vol. iii., bk. v.

[2] *London Gazette* and Luttrell's *Relation of State Affairs*.

[3] Lamberty, *Mémoires de la Dernière Révolution en Angleterre*, vol. ii., p. 563.

[4] Do., vol. ii., p. 606, and Luttrell's *Relation*.

[5] *Diary*, Nov., 1689. Among the accounts of this year we find the following:—"To Margaret Harrison, allowed her out of y^e^ Office of the Workes, as charity, her husband (who was a labourer in these workes, being killed in June 1689 by the fall of an old brick wall), 40*s*.," which seems to refer to another previous accident.—*Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 295.

an inquiry was ordered by the King to be instituted into the occurrence; and, on the 19th of December, Wren was called in before the Lords of the Treasury, and told that "his Majesty commanded that the matter should be examined into by the Office of Works, and that he should report it to their Lordships in writings."[1] The great architect would appear to have rather resented this; and so remiss was he in sending in his report, that more than ten days afterwards the Lords had to insist on his giving an account of it forthwith. It requires, they told him, "some hast, for the King is of opinion y^e^ building is in a bad condition."

Sir Christopher, however, who was evidently very sensitive at any doubts being thrown on the soundness of his work, and apparently distrustful of the impartiality of his co-officials in the Board of Works, declared that he would go and examine persons with regard to it on oath, and that their Lordships should "have the affidavits of able men, not interested—bricklayers, carpenters, and masons, that have left off their aprons—and are without suspicion of being influenced by him;" and "he promised to bring in his report on that day se'nnight, w^ch^ will be Munday, 6^th^ January." It was not till the 10th of that month that his report and that of Mr. Talman, the Comptroller of the Works, who expressed himself adversely to Sir Christopher, were read by the Lords of the Treasury. He was then called in, and stated his views before the King, who decided, that unless, after hearing Talman, they should find "materiall cause to the contrary, the works at Hampton Court are to proceed." Two days after this, Wren and Talman were called together before their Lordships of the Treasury, when an animated scene took place between the architect and the comptroller.[2]

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. vi., No. 37; and extract from the *Minute Book*.

[2] Talman, whose Christian name was William, was an architect himself, and the builder, among other houses, of Chatsworth. Professional jealousy may therefore have had something to do with the acrimony of this discussion.

"The surveyour general [Wren] objects ag^t M^r Latham [whose opinion was noted in the comptroller's report] for a madman, and sayes the work has stood a new tryal in a hurrycane;"[1] on which Mr. Talman replied that "my Lord Chamberlain's lodgings kept the wind absolutely from this building, and that M^r Latham is not madd." Mr. Bankes (a member of the Board of Works) observed, that "there are 24 peers next the garden,[2] and but four stones crackt; and y^e cracks no bigger than an haires breadth; that the building, every day it stands, is stronger and grows lighter." "Not at all," replied Talman, "every pier is crackt, that one may put his finger in." Mr. Oliver (another member of the Board) retorted, "None of y^e masons M^r Talman brought understand so good a work as this is." "The masons I brought," replied he, "are three that Sir Christopher employs. The piers are all crackt and hollow, and crampt with iron to keep them together." "What was done for greater caution," answered Sir Christopher, warmly, "ought not to be maliciously interpreted." "Pray," suggested Talman, "let 6 be chosen by mee, and 6 by you to judg in this matter." But the Lords thought, "thy'l never agree, one part will say one thing, th'other another." "I'le putt it on this," interposed Wren, "a man cannot putt his finger in y^e cracks." "No," rejoined Talman, "because you've had them stopt!" On this the Lords said, they "thought that that was a matter of fact, and they resolved to appoint indifferent persons to view the same and see if the building will stand or no."

The result of the inspection seems to have been favourable to Wren's contention, and it was ordered that

[1] The hurricane was on the night of the 11th of January, and, according to Luttrell, "did great damage in several places, blowing down stacks of chimneys, and untiling tops of houses."

[2] The 24 "piers" would appear to be the blocks between the windows. That Sir Christopher was right in asserting their solidity has long since been proved.

the works be resumed and proceeded with, with all possible despatch, Wren continuing his duties as architect, or "surveyor" as he was designated in the accounts, at the very modest salary of 4*s.* 10*d.* a day,[1] and Talman, as Comptroller of the Works, at a salary of 6*s.* 10*d.*, his supervision being probably more arduous and unremitting than Wren's.

For a time, at any rate, the ill-feeling between the two was allayed, though a subsequent ebullition, which took place later over the works at this Palace, shows it was still smouldering.

[1] This seems to have been in addition to his regular allowance of £80 a year as "Surveyor-General of Their Majesties Works."—*Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2443, Roll 124.

CHAPTER III.

QUEEN MARY'S PRIVATE LIFE AT HAMPTON COURT.

The Water Gallery furnished and decorated for Queen Mary—An æsthetic Retreat—Her Oriental China and Delft Ware—Her Bathing Closet—Her Pursuits and Amusements—Her Love of Needlework—Her Gallery of Beauties painted by Kneller—Her Love of Gardening—A choice Collection of Exotics—A Remarkable Agave—Her Hothouses—A Description of the Gardens—Borders of Box—Queen Mary's Bower—Queen Mary supervises the Works at Hampton Court—Her Consultations with Wren—The Buildings delayed by want of Money and Portland Stone.

PENDING the completion of the new State Apartments, which in any case could not, even with the most urgent despatch, be got ready for the King and Queen's occupation for a considerable time, their Majesties were desirous of having a set of rooms fitted up with all the modern conveniences of that day, in some part of the old Palace, where they might reside in comfort, while superintending the buildings and the laying out of the new gardens. This need was felt especially by the Queen, who was already greatly attached to Hampton Court, and who liked to retire to it whenever she could get away from London, during her husband's long absences in Ireland and abroad.

Accordingly she fixed upon a building, at one time occupied

by Queen Elizabeth when princess and under restraint by order of her sister,[1] and occasionally assigned to visitors at Court, but chiefly used as a landing-place from the river, and thence known as the "Water Gallery," which, by its detached situation, at some distance from the main building, was admirably adapted for the purpose of a temporary residence while the new Palace was being finished.

It was, therefore, about this time, put into the hands of the decorators and furnishers, who soon made of it, under the Queen's direction, "the pleasantest little thing within doors that could possibly be made, with all the little neat curious things that suited her conveniences."[2] Here Mary delighted to take up her abode: and her retreat would do credit to any æsthetic lady of the present day.

The decoration of the rooms was superintended by Sir Christopher Wren, and included painted ceilings and panels, richly carved doorways and cornices, with festoons of fruit and flowers in limewood by the delicate hand of Grinling Gibbons, oak dados, hangings of fine artistic needlework, and corner fireplaces with marble mantelpieces surmounted by diminishing shelves, on which were placed many rare and curious pieces of oriental and blue and white china. The taste for this she was the first to introduce into England, and for her choicest specimens she had cabinets specially made by Gerrard Johnson, a clever cabinet-maker of the time, which were placed in a room called "the Delft-Ware Closett," and many of which may now still be seen in various of the State Rooms. Other rooms of hers in the Water Gallery were: "the Looking Glass Closett," which she engaged James Bogdane, the fashionable painter of animals, to decorate for her;[3] her "Marble Closett" in the same

[1] See vol. i., p. 271.

[2] Defoe's *Tour through Great Britain.*

[3] *Audit Office Declared Accounts,* Bundle 2482, Roll 297.

suite, which was likewise finely painted and decorated; and her "Bathing Closett," which was fitted with a white marble bath, "made very fine, suited either to hot or cold bathing, as the season should invite. She had also here a dairy, with all its conveniences, in which her Majesty took great delight,"[1] being once heard to say that she "could live in a dairy."[2]

Here, at the Water Gallery, and in the gardens close to it, Mary spent most of her time; sometimes plying her needle on the balcony of beautiful wrought iron, which overhung the then uncockneyfied Thames, and watching the barges float to and fro; sometimes superintending the laying out of the gardens, or attending to her botanical collection; sometimes discussing with Wren the details of the new building, and sometimes sitting at work with her ladies, beneath the shade of the curious intertwined trees, still known by the name of "Queen Mary's Bower."

Her habit of working with her needle was much extolled by her sycophantic panegyrist Burnet, who, in his Essay on her memory, declares that, "In all those hours that were not given to better employment, she wrought with her own hands; and sometimes with so constant a diligence, as if she had been to earn her bread by it. It was a new thing, and looked like a sight, to see a Queen work so many hours a day."[3] Specimens of her needlework, consisting of hangings and coverings for chairs, couches, and screens, were long shown at Hampton Court, and were described as "extremely neat and very well shadowed."[4] They were all removed from the Palace some years ago.

It was in the Water Gallery, also, that the Queen had her "Gallery of Beauties, being the Pictures, at full length, of the principal Ladies attending upon her Majesty, or who

[1] Defoe.
[2] *The Royal Diary*, 1705, p. 3.
[3] *Ditto.*
[4] *Apelles Britannicus.*

were frequently in her Retinue; and this was the more beautiful sight," in Defoe's opinion, "because the originals were all in Being, and often to be compared with their pictures."[1]

Sir Godfrey Kneller was the artist who painted this series of portraits, henceforward known as "the Hampton Court Beauties," to distinguish them from Lely's Beauties of the Court of Charles II., to which we adverted in our second volume,[2] and which, having formerly hung at Windsor, were thence at one time called "the Windsor Beauties," though they now hang in this Palace in the King's State Bedchamber.

"Of the Beauties of Hampton Court," remarks Horace Walpole,[3] "the thought was the Queen's during one of the King's absences; and contributed much to render her unpopular, as I have heard from the authority of the old Countess of Carlisle, who remembered the event. She added, that the famous Lady Dorchester advised the Queen against it, saying: 'Madam, if the King was to ask for the portraits of all the wits in his court, would not the rest think he called them fools?'"

The Queen, however, would not be dissuaded; she apparently wished to emulate the enterprise of the Duchess of York, for whom Lely painted his series of "Beauties;" and Kneller, on his part, entered thoroughly into the spirit of the idea, and did his best to rival his predecessor. But his productions, it must be confessed, cannot compare with their models, either as works of art or objects of interest. They are heavy in style, and have much sameness in their designs; and the originals could boast of none of those romantic adventures, or piquant and scandalous anecdotes, which have immortalized the "Beauties" of the Merry

[1] *Tour through Great Britain.* [2] P. 246. [3] *Anecdotes of Painting.*

Mary II

Monarch. Kneller was knighted, however, for his performance, and received besides a medal and a chain worth £300.[1] Lord Lansdowne, the poet, who knew all the ladies, and celebrated several of them in his verse, concludes his "Progress of Poetry,"[2] by the following reference to them :—

> Oh, Kneller! like thy picture were my song,
> Clear like thy paint, and like thy pencil strong,
> The matchless beauties should recorded be,
> Immortal in my verse, as in thy gallery.

The "Hampton Court Beauties" remained at the Water Gallery after the Queen's death, until that building was demolished on the completion of the new Palace, on account of its obstructing the view, when they were placed in a room directly under the King's Guard Chamber, thenceforth called the "Beauty Room," where William III. used sometimes to dine in private.[3] Since the rearrangement of the pictures about forty years ago, they have adorned the walls of King William's Presence Chamber. They were originally twelve[4] in number, as appears from the set of plates engraved in mezzotint by John Faber, junior, but only eight now remain here, those missing being: Dodington, Duchess of Manchester; Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough; and Jane, Countess of Clarendon; and Queen Mary herself, whose full-length, painted by Kneller for this series, had long been replaced by Wissing's half-length. The print of the Queen, however, here inserted is after Kneller's picture. Those still at Hampton Court are: Lady Diana de Vere, Duchess of St. Albans, who was the only child and heiress of Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford, and who, being immensely rich, was betrothed when a mere

[1] Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, and Buckeridge's *Essay towards an English School*.

[2] *Works*, ed. 1736, vol. i., p. 63.

[3] *Apelles Britannicus*, and George Bickham's *Deliciæ Britanniæ*.

[4] See J. Challoner Smith's *British Mezzotinto Portraits*, part i., p. 309.

child by Charles II. to his natural son by Nell Gwynne; Lady Mary Bentinck, Countess of Essex; Carey Fraser, Countess of Peterborough; Lady Margaret Cecil, Countess of Ranelagh; Miss Pitt, afterwards Mrs. Scroop; Lady Isabella Bennet, Duchess of Grafton; Lady Mary Compton, Countess of Dorset; and Lady Middleton.

The portraits are all full-lengths, the ladies being represented standing, nearly all looking to the front, and attired in conventional drapery, without the preposterous headdresses of the time, but the hair so skilfully disposed and elevated as not to shock too severely the prejudices of fashion. The backgrounds are landscapes and gardens, with pillars and balustrades.[1]

While Queen Mary was living at the Water Gallery, she devoted much of her time to gardening, and she gathered together here a number of choice exotics and other rare plants, for which she sent gardeners at great expense to Virginia, the Canary Islands, and other places.[2] Her collection was entrusted to the care of Dr. Plunkenet, a distinguished herbalist, whom she appointed her head-gardener at a salary of £200 a year,[3] and who assisted her to raise many foreign, and especially tropical plants from seed in the hothouses in the Privy Gardens, and in the old Melon Ground.[4] Many of these were long preserved at Hampton Court; and, indeed, some remnants of her collection may still be seen in the Privy Garden—in the winter in the greenhouse and

[1] For further information on these paintings see the author's *Historical Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court.*

[2] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 298. "To Jas. Road, Gardiner, for going to Virginia to make a collection of Fforeigne Plantes—£234 11*s.* 9*d.* Also to Mr. Whahur (?) being so much to him paid for ye charge of sending 2 persons to the Canaries to collect Plants—£72."

[3] Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica*, and *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 124.

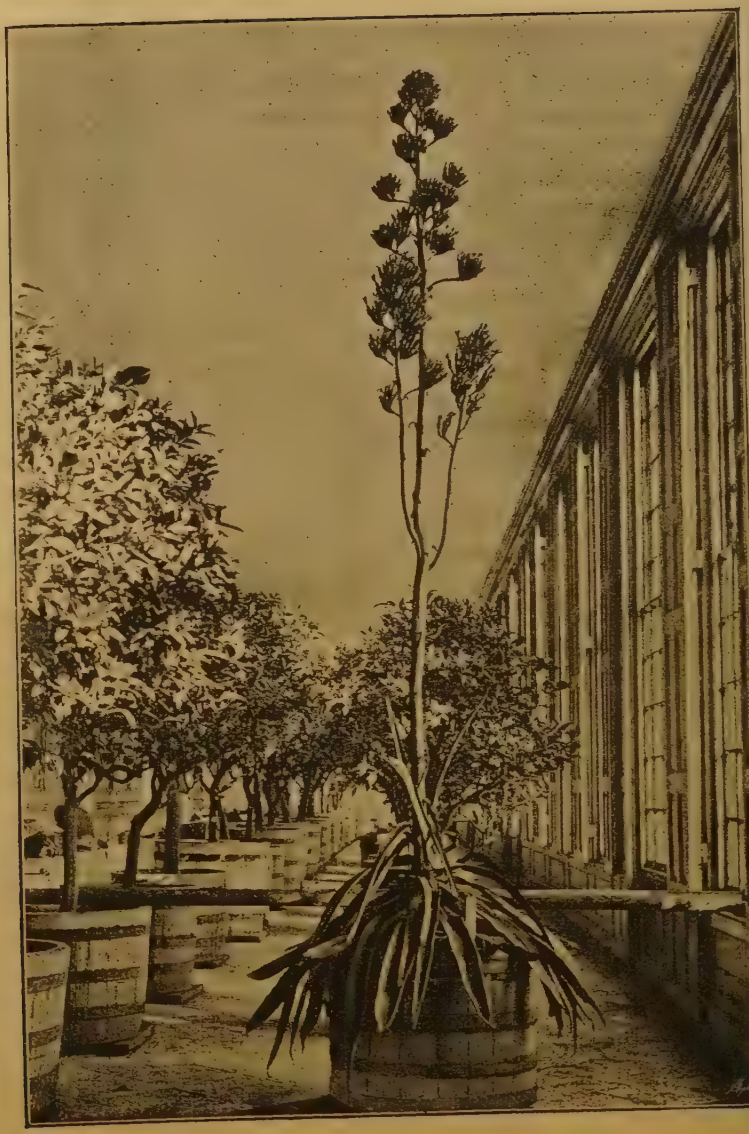
[4] The "Melon Ground" was that part of the old Kitchen Garden—now rented by Mr. Laytham from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests—which lies between the Tennis Court Lane and the old moat.

orangery, and in the summer ranged on the walk in front of the south side of the State Apartments. For instance, there are several remarkably fine specimens of the Agave Americana variegata, or "Century Plant," as it is sometimes called, on account of the belief that under cultivation it takes nearly a hundred years before it flowers. This is not actually the case, though specimens, which, in their native country, would probably bear flower in ten years, have been known to be fifty years old without doing so. None of those at Hampton Court, at any rate, had ever been known to bloom by anyone now living, until the summer before last, when one of them suddenly burst into blossom, exactly two hundred years after it was first brought here, and its flower-stalk, which would grow several inches in a day, rose to a height of no less than sixteen feet, and carried thousands of pale yellow flowers, dripping with nectar. The plate on the next page, shows this remarkable plant in flower, in the old Greenhouse, where are also ranged many of Queen Mary's orange trees.

Another interesting plant, also of the Amaryllis order, called the Agave Filamentosa, whose leaves are clustered like the American agave, and are about a foot in length, also happened to bloom two summers back. Curiously enough, it had been supposed to be dead and decaying, and had been thrown away in a dark, dry cellar, when it was discovered in the spring of the year before last, not only alive and healthy, but throwing out a fine white flower-stem. It was then placed in a tub and nurtured with great care, so that its flower grew to a height of six feet, and carried hundreds of blossoms.[1]

There also remain at Hampton Court several citrons, and a good many orange trees, which were in William

[1] *Ex relatione* Mr. Jack, head-gardener of the Queen's Private Gardens at Hampton Court.



The Old Greenhouse, with an American Agave in Flower, and Queen Mary's Orange-Trees.

and Mary's collection—the oranges of course having a political significance, which made their culture an object of great interest. Some of the trees are undoubtedly of very great age, and were perhaps brought over by William himself from his gardens at Loo, where they may have been growing many years before. That some, at any rate, came from Holland is clear from an entry of a payment of £70 5*s.* 6*d.* made to Herman Jansen Valck for "orrange trees" about this time.[1]

Three curious catalogues of Mary's botanical collection are preserved in the British Museum,[2] one by Dr. Gray, and one dated 1690. There is also a curious description of the Queen's "stoves," by which is meant her greenhouses, as they were in 1692.[3] There appear to have been three of them, each being 55 feet in length, 8 feet broad at the bottom, and 5 feet at the top; and arranged with furnaces and flues for heating them.

Her Majesty's taste in this regard is noticed by Burnet in his commendatory remarks on her death, in which he speaks of her as giving "her minutes of leisure with the greatest willingness to architecture and gardenage. She had a richness of invention, with a happiness of contrivance, that had airs in it that were freer and nobler than what was more stiff, though it might be more regular. She knew that this drew an expense after it; she had no inclination besides this to any diversions that were expenseful, and since this employed many hands, she was pleased to say that she hoped it would be forgiven her."[4]

Of the garden and the hothouses in which Queen Mary's plants were at this time reared, we will quote an account, written by a horticulturist in the year 1691:—

[1] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 298.

[2] *Sloane MSS.*, Nos. 2928, 2370-1, and 3343.

[3] *Sloane MSS.*, No. 4036, folio 295.

[4] *Character of the late Queen Mary*, in the *Royal Diary*, published in 1705.

"Hampton Court Garden is a large plat, environed with an iron palisade round about next the Park, laid all in walks, grassplats and borders. Next to the house some flat and broad beds are set with narrow rows of dwarf box, in figures like lace patterns. In one of the lesser gardens is a large greenhouse divided into several rooms, and all of them with stoves under them, and fire to keep a continual heat. In these there are no orange or lemon trees, or myrtles, or any greens, but such tender foreign ones that need continual warmth."[1]

The fashion mentioned in the above account of using a considerable amount of box in beds and borders, is referred to by Switzer,[2] who observes that "in the Hampton Court gardens, as laid out by William III., the only fault was the pleasure gardens being stuffed too thick with box, a fashion brought over out of Holland by the Dutch gardeners, who used it to a fault, especially in England, where we abound in so good grass and gravel." He adds that Queen Anne's "first work was rooting up the box, and giving an English model to the old made gardens here and elsewhere; and the gardens laid in that plain but noble manner they now appear in;" and Defoe, writing six years after Switzer, observes: "The fine scrolls and bordure of these gardens were at first edged with box; but on the Queen's disliking the smell, those edgings were taken up, but have since been planted again, at least in many places, nothing making so fair and regular an edging as box, or is so soon brought to perfection."

Of the general appearance presented by the gardens at this time, a good idea can be formed from the plates at

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xii., p. 181, No. xvi., "A short account of several gardens near London, with remarks on some particulars wherein they excel or are deficient upon a view of them in 1691"—citing an original manuscript, signed J. Gibson, Jan. 26, 1691.

[2] *Ichnographia Rustica*, vol. i., p. 75.

pages 42 and 44, after engravings by Sutton Nicholls, and on pages 108 and 178, after engravings by Kip. In that on page 42, giving a view of the South Front of the Palace and of the Privy Garden, there is to be noticed, on the left, the long arbour of wych or Scotch elm, one of the most interesting curiosities of Hampton Court Gardens, usually known by the name of "Queen Mary's Bower." It is 100

Queen Mary's Bower.

yards in length, 20 feet high, and 12 feet wide, and the branches of the trees are so wonderfully intergrown and interlaced, as to form an avenue completely enclosed and roofed in. It was, perhaps, in existence prior to the building of the new Palace and the alterations in the gardens; for Evelyn tells us in his "Diary," under date June 9th, 1662, that "the cradle-work of horne-beame, in the Garden, is for

the perplexed twining of the trees very observable." The trees, however, are not hornbeam, but wych elm.[1]

During the summer of 1690, while William was in Ireland, Mary, who had been appointed Regent in his absence, was so busily occupied with public affairs in London, that she rarely had an opportunity of coming down to Hampton Court. She managed, however, to do so now and then, to see how things were getting on, and to report on the progress of the works to her husband. On these occasions, she by no means contented herself with a mere perfunctory and unintelligent inspection of the works: on the contrary, we are assured in Wren's "Parentalia,"[2] that "the Queen pleased herself from time to time in examining and surveying the drawings, contrivances, and the whole progress of the present building, and in giving thereon her own judgment, which was exquisite; for there were few arts or sciences in which her Majesty had not only an elegant taste, but a knowledge much superior to any of her sex in that, or, it may be, any former age."

But the absence of the King, and the great expenses consequent on the war, made it very difficult to extract the requisite funds for carrying on the works, from a reluctant and deplenished Treasury. Mary, who was very anxious that the new apartments should be got into a forward state against the King's return, and who had probably received letters from him exhorting her to press them on, writes to him on the subject on June 24th (O.S.), 1690: "As for the buildings, I fear there will be many obstacles, for I spoke to Sir J. Lowther[3] this very day, and hear so much use for money, and find so little, that I cannot tell whether that of

[1] Loudon's *Encyclopædia of Trees and Shrubs*, p. 720.

[2] Page 326.

[3] Sir John Lowther, afterwards first Earl of Lonsdale, was at this time First Lord of the Treasury, and one of the Council of Nine.

Hampton Court will not be the worst for it, especially since the French are in the Channel,[1] and at present between Portland and us, from whence the stone must come."[2]

Three weeks after, on the 12th of July, 1690, she came down to the Palace to see how the works were progressing, arriving so early in the morning as to be able to see what she wanted, and get back to Whitehall by midday. On the night of the same day she wrote, while in bed at eleven o'clock, to tell the King that things were still going on very slowly, "want of money and Portland stone being the hindrances, and indeed, in a time when there are such pressing necessities, I am almost ashamed to speak about it, and yet it is become so just a debt that it ought to be paid."[3] But in spite of the justness of the debt, it remained unliquidated for nearly ten years, as we shall see later on—a state of things that seems to have been chronic in those days, as far as the works at Hampton Court were concerned. The amount, it is true, was considerable, reaching for the years, April 1st, 1689, to March 31st, 1691, as much as £54,484.[4]

As to the Portland stone, it was required for the frame-works of the windows, the string-courses and other stone ornaments in the new building; and we may observe that through the want of it, the window-dressings of the top storey, on the inner side of the east range of Wren's quadrangle, were put in with Bath stone. This stone, however, decayed so much in comparison with the rest of the stone-work, that a few years ago it had to be restored, and was replaced in Portland stone—the deficiency which Queen

[1] They were under Tourenne, to whom Admiral Torrington gave battle off Beachy Head on the 30th of June, and was defeated. See *post*, p. 104.

[2] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Part II., *Appendix*, p. 14.

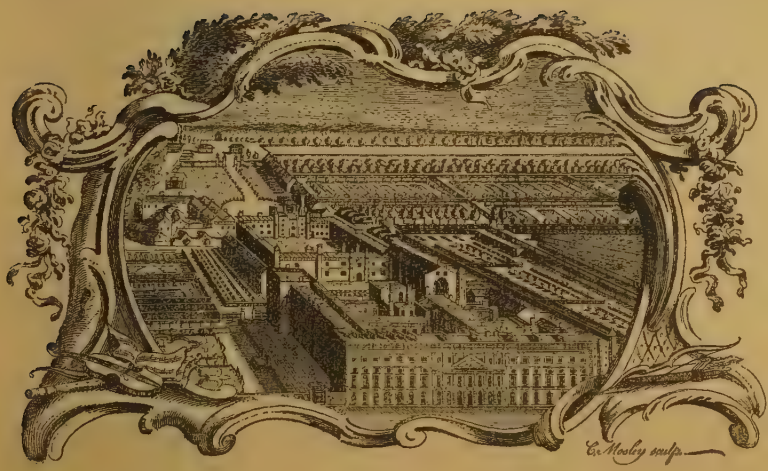
[3] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Part II., *Appendix*, p. 139.

[4] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 295.

Mary bewailed being thus at last made good two hundred years later.

These delays in the progress of the works seem to have annoyed the Queen very much, for she was anxious to install herself in the new Palace, and to satisfy her husband's impatience to do the same, of which she was continually being reminded by letter during his absences. We find her still bemoaning this when writing to her friend Mdlle. de Wassenaer D'Obdam, three months after her husband's return, on the 5th of December, 1690 :[1] "Il faut que vous sachiez que durant l'absence du Roi, je n'ay pas eu le temps d'avoir soin des bâtiments qui se font à Hampton Court, et quelques petites choses que je fais faire icy, cequi m'a tant occupée."

[1] *Lettres de Marie d'Angleterre, &c.*, p. 123.



CHAPTER IV.

DECORATION OF THE NEW PALACE AND GARDENS.

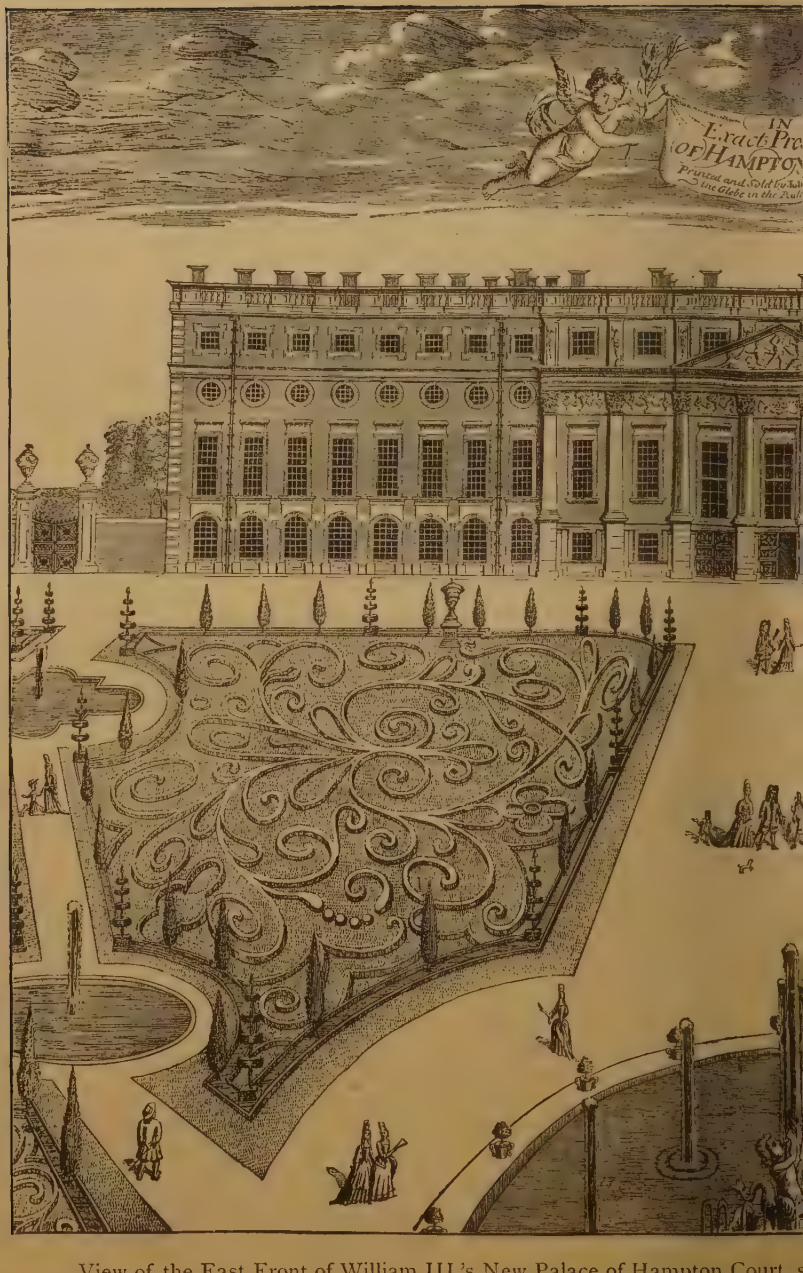
General Aspect of the new Building—The Red Brick—Architectural Features of the East Front—The South Front—The new Quadrangle—The Cloisters—The Colonnade—The Orangery—A new Organ for the Chapel—Occasional Visits of Inspection by William and Mary—Decoration of the new Palace—Laguerre's Paintings of the Labours of Hercules—Carvings by William Emmett—Carvings in Stone by Grinling Gibbons—Sculpture by Gabriel Cibber—Two beautiful Vases in the Gardens—King William's Taste for Ornamental Gardening—Beautiful Screens of Wrought Iron—Tijou's Designs for artistic Ironwork—Huntingdon Shaw's Claim to their Workmanship—Death of Queen Mary—King William in consequence forsakes the Palace—Whitehall destroyed by Fire—William again turns his attention to Hampton Court—Wren and the King Freemasons—The King presides over a Lodge at Hampton Court.

IN spite of the delays caused in the works by the want of money and Portland stone, the buildings were, by the beginning of 1691, sufficiently advanced to enable William and Mary to judge what the general appearance of the new edifice would be. As we have already indicated, its form is a

massive and imposing, rather than a beautiful block, in the debased pseudo-classic style of the later Italian Renaissance, with windows, square, round and oblong, arranged uniformly on horizontal lines.

The material used in its construction is red brick for the surface of the walls, relieved with Portland stone in the windows, doorways, coigns, string-courses, balustrades and other ornamental details, to harmonize with the older parts of the Palace. But the red brick, which invests the gables, parapets, bay windows, turrets, and chimneys of the old irregularly-built Tudor structure with so charmingly picturesque an air, produces, when employed in these large uniform rectangular elevations, an impression of pretentious meanness rather than splendour or beauty. This, however, is due, not merely to the architectural style of Wren's palace, but also, in a great measure, to the difference in colour of the brickwork, which in the older building, besides being of a deeper and richer prevailing tone, varies, in different bricks, from light pinks to deep crimsons and purples, so that in a few square feet of wall space we may sometimes find a dozen or more different shades, while every brick in the new building is of an exactly similar tint of glaring scarlet, still remaining as raw and untoned as ever after the lapse of exactly two centuries of time. Of this only a visit to Hampton Court can convey an adequate idea. But of the stiffness of outline and the sameness of architectural feature in the new Palace, the reader can form some conception from the annexed facsimile of an engraving of the East Front, executed about the time of its completion by Sutton Nicholls for the King and Queen.

The main idea of Wren's design here, as also in the south front and within the quadrangle, was evidently borrowed from some of the palaces he had seen during his travels in Italy and France ; and in regard to this façade to the east,



View of the East Front of William III.'s New Palace of Hampton Court, s
an engraving by Sutton Ni

ing part of the Great Fountain Garden. Reproduced in facsimile from
s, published about 1695.

he and his royal master, who supervised the works throughout, intending it to be the principal front of the new building —facing as it does the Great Fountain Garden and the canal and avenues of the House Park—resolved that it should be decorated with more lavishness than the rest of the new structure. On this account the compartment in the centre, which includes five out of the twenty-one bays, is all faced with stone, very richly ornamented and carved. On the ground floor, the entrance gates, occupying the three central bays, and leading from the cloisters of the new quadrangle into the garden, are flanked by four rectangular stone piers supporting a stone plinth, on which stand four fluted columns of the Corinthian order. These columns themselves flank the three middle windows of the first floor, and sustain a large triangular pediment, finely sculptured in bas-relief. On each side are two pilasters of the same order supporting a continuation of the entablature.

The windows of the first or principal floor are those of the royal apartments, the three middle ones being the Queen's Drawing Room; the round windows above them light the entresol, or, to use the preferable old English word, the half-storey, which, in the case of the loftier state rooms, is included in their height; and the square windows of the top storey are those of the apartments assigned to various officials and attendants about the Court.

The height of this, as well as of the south front, is 60 feet 2 inches.

The general architectural effect of this façade has been well criticised by Dallaway, the editor of Walpole's "Anecdotes": "The innumerable mezzanine circular windows, placed under a range of others exactly square, a pediment beneath the balustrade obscuring others in part, and the architraves of the central parts of the brick fronts profusely sculptured over the whole surface, leave little repose for the

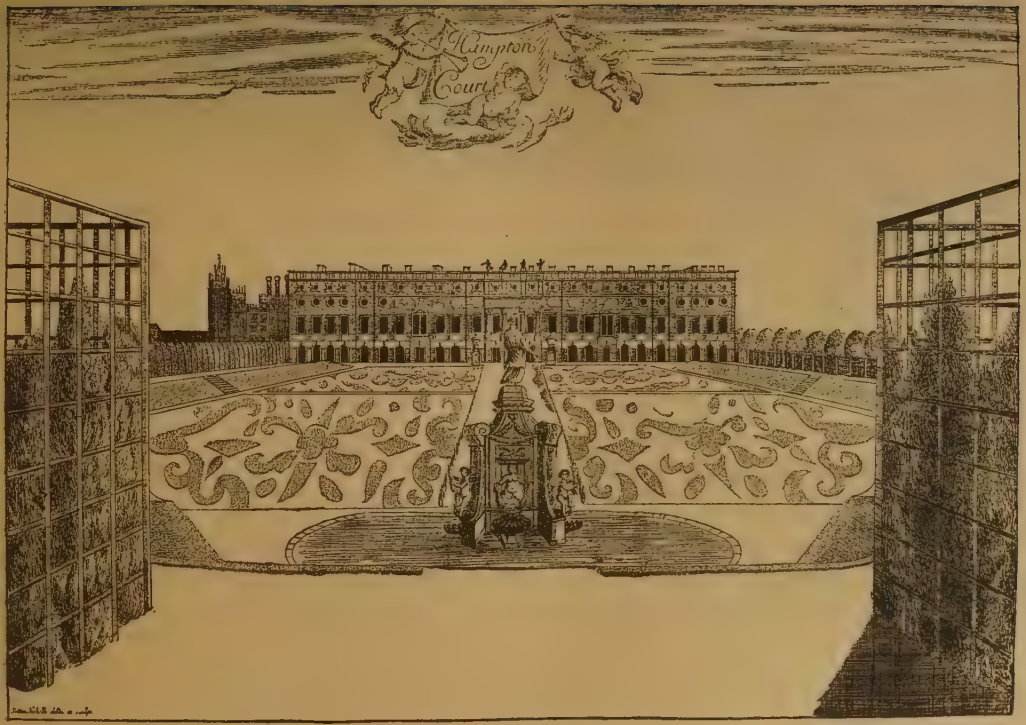
eye, and offend in that respect no less than the palaces of Borromini and Mansart."

The fault, indeed, of the great pediment not rising above the balustrade, and not standing out, as it should, with only the sky as a background, is one so palpable and gross, that it would be strange if an architect with the ability and training of Wren had perpetrated it of his own accord. Perhaps this was one of the points in which he had to submit to have his better judgment controlled and overruled by the whims and wishes of the King and Queen.

Another salient defect is the protrusion, above the balustrade, of the ugly and shapeless brick chimneys, appearing as incongruous excrescences, which the architect, as though ashamed of such features of mere use, had endeavoured in vain to conceal. This affords us an opportunity of contrasting the pretentious artificialities of this style of architecture, with the truth and flexibility of the old English Gothic close by, where the chimneys, instead of being a disfigurement to the building, are treated as indispensable adjuncts to it, and are arranged in pleasing clusters of delicately moulded shafts, which form harmonious ornaments to the whole design.

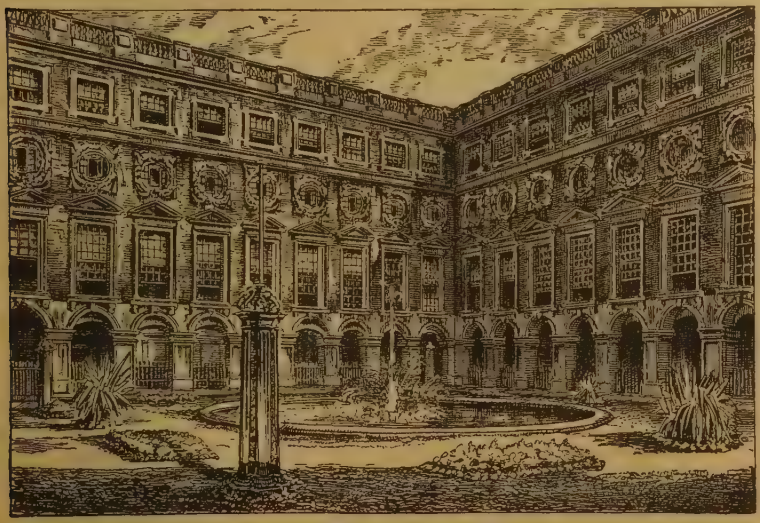
Similar criticisms apply, in a general way, to the South Front, which is on a like plan, only varying from the East Front in having wings, 56 feet 6 inches long, projecting 8 feet 4 inches from the main frontage, and in having its centre differently treated and less highly embellished. This last, in fact, simply consists of four, plain, unfluted, engaged, Corinthian columns, supporting an entablature on which are inscribed the words: "GVLIELMVS ET MARIA R.R.F."—that is, "William and Mary, King and Queen, built [this Palace]," the initials "R.R.F." standing for the Latin words *Rex Regina Fecerunt.*

Above the entablature are continuations of the columns



The South Front of William III.'s New Palace of Hampton Court, showing part of the Privy Gardens.
From an engraving by Sutton Nicholls, published about 1695.

in the form of four decorated pilasters, which extend through the balustrade, and on the tops of which formerly stood statues. The small stone pediments over the two windows midway between the centre and the wings are very finely decorated with stone carvings, consisting of cupids supporting shields with the arms of William and Mary, sur-



The Fountain Court.

mounted by crowns. These and other decorative carvings, as we shall see shortly, were executed a year or two later than the time of which we are just now treating, and appear to have been from the hand of a sculptor of the name of Caius Gabriel Cibber, father of the celebrated actor.

Thus far as regards the East and South Fronts of the new Palace.

But, in the meanwhile, the inward side of Wren's Quadrangle was also being completed, and here, though the

general design of the elevation is much the same as that of the two great façades, it varies in having, on the ground floor, an open arcade of semicircular arches, supported on rectangular pillars or piers of stone-work. The arches—from the inner sides of which branch brick-work groinings, forming the roof of the cloister and supporting the floor of the State Rooms above—are twelve in number on the north

The Colonnade.

and south sides, and eleven in number on the east and west. The height of the cloister is 12 feet.

Lest the architectural critic should be disposed to blame Sir Christopher Wren for making these cloisters so low, we must record the fact, as stated in Wren's "Parentalia," that his Majesty "excused his surveyor for not raising the cloisters under the apartments higher;

which were executed in that manner according to *his* express order."[1]

Another portion of the work, perhaps the most creditable of all to Wren's genius, is the Colonnade in the Second or Clock Court, which was built across its south side to form an approach to the King's Great Staircase, and also to mask the irregular though picturesque range of buildings behind.

Though out of place amidst Tudor surroundings, it is in itself very handsome. It consists of seven couples of Ionic pillars, with pilasters of the same order at either end against the wall, supporting an entablature and balustrade at the top. Over the two middle couples stand two large carved vases of stone; and below are ornaments of foliage, masks, and various trophies of war. Its dimensions are: length, 89 feet 4 inches; internal height, from floor to ceiling, 20 feet 6 inches; external height, to the top of the parapet, 27 feet 9 inches.

About this time, while the new State Rooms were still unfinished, Queen Mary appears to have made use of the ground floor of the Palace for storing some of her large plants, especially the orange trees; for there is at the Office of Her Majesty's Works an old drawing, dating from about this time, and made perhaps by Sir Christopher Wren, of the South Front of the Palace, showing these plants in the windows of the Orangery, under the State Rooms; and that the cloisters were used for the same purpose is evident from the observation of Defoe that "the orange trees and fine Dutch bays were placed within the arches of the building, under the first floor; so that the lower part of the house was all one as a greenhouse for some time."[2] The old Orangery is still used for housing some of the tropical plants in winter. It is 158 feet long by 18 feet broad, and has 13 windows.

[1] Page 327: "Certified to the Collector, by the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Pembroke."

[2] *Tour through Great Britain.*

Among the various improvements about the Palace, the Chapel was not overlooked; and Compton, Bishop of London, who was also Dean of the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court, and had baptized the Duke of Gloucester, having complained to the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Dorset, that a new organ was much wanted, his lordship issued his warrant, on August 2nd, 1690, to "Bernard Smyth, Their Majesties' Organ Maker in Ordinary," for the making of a new one.[1] The organ still in use in the Chapel, though well worthy of so distinguished a maker as the celebrated "Father" Schmidt, who is evidently the person here referred to,[2] is, however, apparently not his work; as his pupil and successor, Christopher Schrider, subsequently made, as we shall see, another new organ for the Palace Chapel in the reign of Queen Anne.[3]

From the autumn of 1691 onwards, for two or three years, we can glean but very little which touches on the history of Hampton Court, except the bare record in Luttrell's "Diary," of the occasional visits of William and Mary to see how the works at the Palace were getting on.[4] Thus, on Dec. 30th, 1691, "Their Majesties went yesterday to view the new buildings at Hampton Court, which are very magnificent;" and, besides other visits,[5] on Nov. 10th, 1693, "Their Majesties dined at Hampton Court, and returned to Kensington in the evening."

But during this time, though William and Mary were

[1] *Lord Chamberlain's Warrants*, 1689 to 1691, folio 130.

[2] He died in 1708. See Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. iii., p. 539a; and Brown's (J. D.) *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, p. 546.

[3] See *post*, p. 184.

[4] On Nov. 24th, 1691, he notes: "His Majestie in his way to Hampton Court, took view on Hounslow Heath of the Lord Colchester and Col. Godfrey's Regiments of Horse and the Lord FitzHarding's Regiment of Dragoons, before they go for Flanders."

[5] On "Teusday, Oct. 4th, 1692, the Queen went this day to Hampton Court and dined at Lord Faulconbridge's and after came to Kensington." See also Feb. 21st and June 13th, 1693.

not often here, great activity prevailed in the new buildings, and the workmen were busily occupied in completing and filling in what had hitherto been little more than the outline and shell of the new Palace. In the interior, staircases were being built, floors laid, and doorways, windows, wainscot, and ironwork fitted; while on the exterior, carvings and other decorative works were being executed by the most experienced hands. The old bills preserved in the Record Office afford us many curious particulars relating to these works, and the interest they possess in connection with the history of the Palace, as well as the light they throw on the state of the decorative arts and the prices paid for artistic work, render some of them well worthy of notice here.

Thus we find that Louis Laguerre, the well-known assistant and imitator of Verrio, and the painter of the great staircase at Petworth, and many of the apartments at Burleigh for Lord Exeter, was employed to decorate the twelve circular spaces of the round-window or half-storey on the south side of the Fountain Court, with frescoes, in chiaroscuro, of the Twelve Labours of Hercules. In this commission was also included the painting of four other similar spaces—doubtless those in the middle of the South Front—with representations of the Four Seasons. These last, however, though indicated in Sutton Nicholls' engraving of this façade, on p. 44, have now disappeared—all the eight "dummies" of this façade being now painted in imitation of windows, as, indeed, four of them had originally been by Laguerre himself.[1]

The "Labours of Hercules" are now much damaged by time and weather, although restored not very long ago, and their artistic merit can never have been very great. Yet £86, which was the sum Laguerre received for the whole

[1] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 296.

job, was wretchedly inadequate remuneration for painting sixteen frescoes, each five feet in diameter, on a scaffold some fifty feet from the ground! While he was engaged on this work, William III. gave him apartments in the Palace; and he was also appointed, according to Horace Walpole, to repair Mantegna's nine splendid pictures of the "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," which were at Hampton Court, and "had the judgment to imitate the style of the originals, instead of new-clothing them in vermilion and ultramarine." We cannot, however, but wish that his somewhat coarse brush had never been suffered to touch them at all.

The carvers engaged to decorate the new Palace were remunerated on a much more liberal scale—thus £918 3*s.* 5*d.* was paid to William Emmett "for carving worke by him performed in and about sev[ll] partes of the s[d] New Buildings."[1] It is not possible to identify precisely the portions of the work which he executed; but we may, with some probability, ascribe to him most of the subsidiary ornamental stonework, such as the garlands of flowers within the arches of the arcade in the Quadrangle, the stone framework of the round windows, which are carved to represent lions' skins, and the vases over the Communication Gallery. Other similar carvings, which we perhaps also owe to Emmett, are the vases and trophies over the cornice of the Ionic colonnade in the Clock Court, and the key-stones over the windows of the ground floor on the East and South Fronts, which key-stones are carved with heads and the initials of William and Mary in monogram.

All this work, however, was doubtless performed under the supervision of Grinling Gibbons,[2] who—probably

[1] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 296.

[2] His Christian name is spelt *Grinlin* in the accounts, and it is so inscribed on his print; but according to Walpole he wrote himself *Grinling*.

through the influence of Wren—had been appointed "master carver" of the works at Hampton Court,[1] and who seems to have been as competent an artist in stone, as in that exquisite wood-carving, for which he is so generally famous, and some of the finest specimens of which may be viewed in this Palace, as we shall see later on.

Indeed, that he himself executed, with his own hand, a good deal of the ornamental stone-carving on the exterior of the new Palace, seems evident from the entries in the old accounts, where we find that between the years 1691 and 1694, a debt of £744 16*s.* 0*d.* was incurred towards "Grinlin Gibbons for carving by him performed in and about the said buildings;"[2] and again, in the accounts for the years 1694 to 1696, a sum of £—— is entered as payable to "Grinlin Gibbons, Ma^r Carver, for carving cornishes, moldings and picture frames; for architrave, freeze, sub-base and other carvers worke by him done in and about the s^d Buildings."[3]

What were all the precise portions of the carver's work "in and about the said buildings" which emanated from Gibbon's chisel, it would be futile to endeavour to discover now. But we shall probably be correct in assigning to him the very fine and vigorous heads on the key-stones of the arches of the Fountain Court; while the second of the two entries just cited seems to prove that, besides the carving in wood of cornices and picture frames, he executed most of the decorative stonework of the central compartment of the East Front—the frieze, in truth, betraying in an unmistakable manner the influence of his well-known style in wood, being carved with vases and baskets of flowers and fruits. The fine bas-relief, however, in the great pediment over the architrave is not from his hand—

[1] See *Complete History of Europe.*
[2] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 296.
[3] Do., Roll 297.

his lack of skill in composition or with the human figure doubtless accounting for the assignment of this task to another artist.

That other sculptor, who received £400 for "Insculpting the Relievo on the Timpan of the Great Frontispiece, with Iconologicall figures, and for sev[ll] Journies of himself and men to look after the performance,"[1] was Caius Gabriel Cibber, "statuary," father of the celebrated Colley Cibber; and he executed the work in question between the month of April, 1694, and the same month in 1696. It represents "The Triumph of Hercules over Envy," and seems to have been intended as a sort of compliment to King William III. —though in physique, at any rate, his Majesty was anything but a Hercules, and "Envy" was scarcely an apt emblem under which to personify the feelings of a dethroned monarch towards his usurping nephew and son-in-law, who had ejected him from his kingdom, robbed him of all his possessions, and seated himself in his place.

Nevertheless, as a work of art it is admirable, and must be reckoned among the very best works of Cibber, who has hitherto been chiefly known to amateurs of sculpture by what he did at Chatsworth, and by his excellent figures of Melancholy and Raving Madness, formerly before the front of Bedlam, and immortalized by Pope in that scathing couplet on his son, Colley Cibber:—

> Where o'er the gate by his famed father's hand
> Great Cibber's brazen, brainless brothers stand.

Much other carving about the Palace was done by Gabriel Cibber, and in fact to him seems to have been entrusted most of the finer sculpture as distinguished from the decorative embellishments. Thus there is, in the old accounts, an item

[1] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 297.

annexed to his name: "For carving two coates of armes in Portland stone, sev[ll] statues and Figures in metall, and for carriage of the statues and other charges—£530." The "coates of armes" are evidently the beautiful pieces of stonework, which surmount the small pediments over two of the windows on the first floor in the South Front, and which exhibit cupids supporting shields with the royal arms crowned. The statues and figures were doubtless some of

Pediment of a Window in the South Front, surmounted by William and Mary's Coat-of-Arms.

those that formerly served to decorate the top of the Palace and the gardens, but were removed to Windsor by George IV.

Gabriel Cibber, we also find, carved for Hampton Court "a great Vauze of white marble, enricht with divers ornaments, with a pedestal of Portland stone, also enricht" for a sum of £134;[1] and there was a companion vase sculptured by one Edward Pearce, and described as "a great Vauze of white marble, all the figures enriched with leaves and festoons of shells, and Pedestal of Portland stone like-

[1] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Roll 298.

wise all members enricht." It was evidently to these that Defoe refers, when, in his account of Hampton Court in 1724, he says: "At the entrance gate into the garden stand advanced, on two pedestals of stone, two marble Vases or Flower-Pots, of most exquisite workmanship, the one done by an Englishman, the other by a German." Their pedestals still remain as formerly, but the vases are now at Windsor.

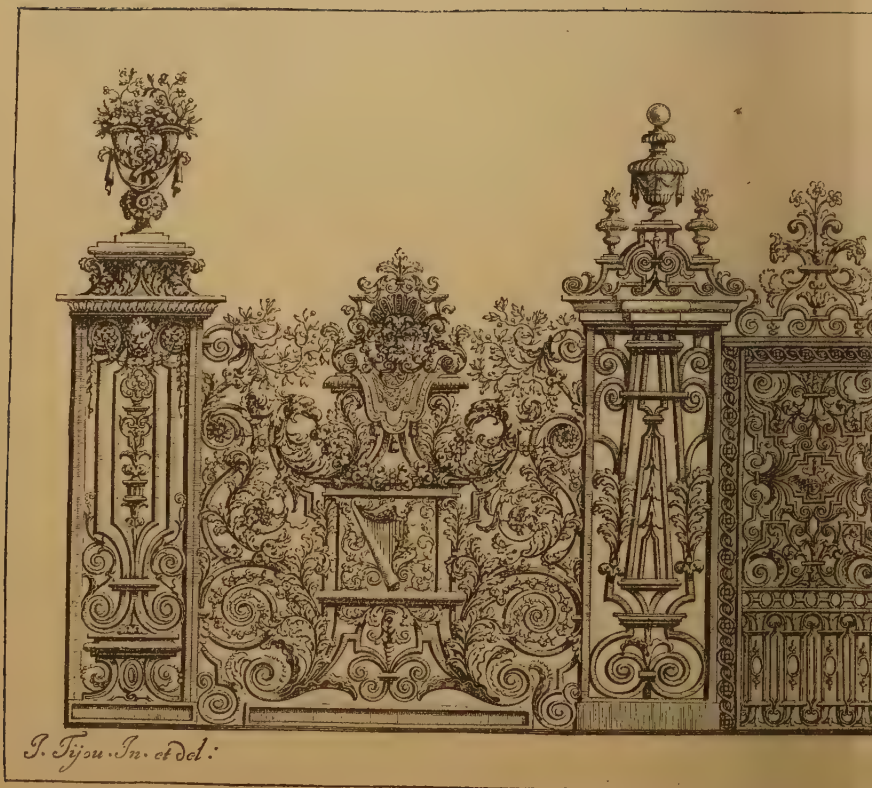
Throughout the gardens, there were similar ornaments, very few of which, however, still remain here. Among them there is special mention of "two other vases, bearing a studied resemblance to the former, and sumptuously worked like them in bas-relief, with subjects from the heathen mythology,"[1] which stood near the west end of the long canal, and which we may doubtless identify with the "great marble Urne with divers base releeves and figures," carved by Cibber for £521 12*s.*, and the "white great marble Urne with divers figures and other ornaments," carved by Edward Pearce, the price of which was included in a sum of £200 paid him for this and other work.[2] Similar urns, vases, and statues were placed about the gardens in formal opposition to each other at measured points, on pedestals, on terrace walls, and on flights of steps.

In decorations of this sort, and in designing and planning extensive schemes of gardening, rather than in the minutiæ of botany and flower-beds, lay William III.'s predilection. And what with levelling of ground and raising of terraces, cutting of drains and making of fountains, building of walls and erecting of iron gates, he had almost as much on hand, at this period, in the gardens, as in the new buildings.

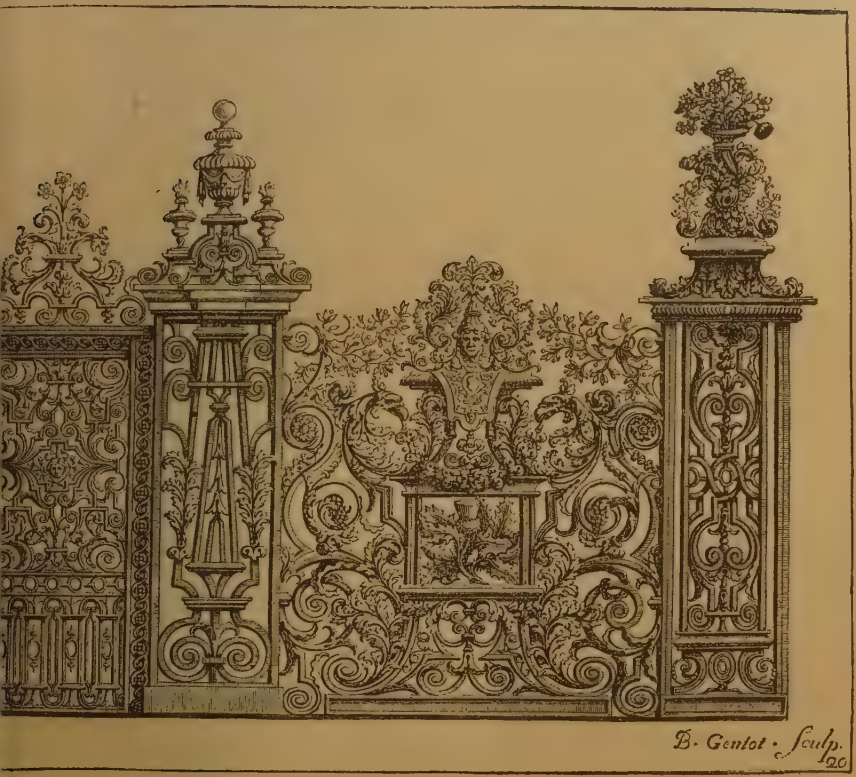
One of the ornamental works, which we owe to him, deserves special notice. We refer to the splendid gates or screens of exquisitely wrought iron, which were made to

[1] *Beauties of England*, ed. 1816, vol. x., part v., p. 481.

[2] See *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, *ubi supra.*



Screens of Wrought Iron, which formerly enclosed the Gardens of Hampto



ɔurt. From Jean Tijou's "Nouveau Livre de Desseins," published in 1693.

enclose the gardens, and which remained *in situ* till some twenty-five years ago—the admiration and delight of every appreciative visitor to Hampton Court.[1]

They were designed by a Frenchman named Jean Tijou, as appears from a book of copper-plate engravings published by him in 1693, entitled "Nouveau Livre de Desseins, Inventé et Dessiné par Jean Tijou" ("A New Booke of Drawings Invented and Designed by John Tijou"), and described in French and in English as "Containing severall sortes of Ironworke as Gates, Frontispieces, Balconies, Staircases, Pannells, etc., of which the most part hath been wrought at the Royal Building of Hampton Court."

From this work we reproduce the annexed plate, showing two of the best screens of the series, from which the reader can judge how magnificent an embellishment they formed to the gardens of Hampton Court, and how excellent was the workmanship lavished upon them. Indeed, they are the finest specimens of decorative ironwork ever executed in England, and it is doubtful whether that metal has ever, in any country or in any age, been moulded into forms more exquisitely delicate and graceful.[2]

Each screen is 10 feet 6 inches high, and 13 feet 4 inches broad, and consists of two upright side panels, capped with crowns, which afford the means of support for the whole by buttresses and stanchions, and which enclose a central compartment, 8 feet 7 inches across, and 9 feet 10 inches high, itself embracing a small subsidiary panel, where one of the national emblems, a harp, rose, or thistle, or the royal monogram of William and Mary, is introduced.

[1] It would appear that originally they surrounded the Private Gardens; that then they were placed in the "Great Fountain Garden," and finally were ranged in the railing between the House Park and the Long Walk.—*Archæologia*, vol. vii., pp. 125, 126 (1783).

[2] The only ironwork in England to compare with it, is that at Leeswood, near Mold, in Flintshire.—*Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 124.

The graceful curves of the foliated scroll-work, and the lightness and delicacy of the leaves, stems, and tendrils of the forged and beaten metal, are truly admirable, and reflect the greatest credit on the handicraftsman, whose artistic hammer and chisel wrought it into these beautiful shapes.

The name of that handicraftsman is, as it happens, preserved to us. He was one Huntingdon Shaw, of Nottingham, and his monument in Hampton Church, after recording that he died "at Hampton Court the 20th day of October, 1710, aged 51 years," goes on to state that "he was an artist in his way: he designed and executed the ornamental ironwork at Hampton Court Palace." On the authority of this inscription, Shaw has hitherto received the exclusive credit of having produced these screens, and patriotic gratulation has often been expressed that they are thoroughly English in design as well as workmanship.[1] It is added that the King died before the completion of the work, or at least before the screens were paid for; that the Parliament repudiated the debt; and that Shaw died of disappointment.[2]

But a suspicion that this plausible inference and the story built upon it, were not altogether in accordance with fact, suggested itself to the author when, on searching among the old Treasury Papers for Shaw's name, he failed to come across any reference to him—although the names and wages of all the artificers engaged on the works, from the great artists such as Cibber, Gibbons, Verrio, and Laguerre, down to the commonest labourers, are frequently mentioned. And this suspicion was confirmed, when among a "List of Debts in the Office of Works in 1701," preserved in the Record

[1] *Magazine of Art*, vol. iii., p. 113; George Wallis, F.S.A., *Artistic Ironwork.*

[2] Do., and Walford's (E.) *Greater London.*

Office, an entry was found, under the heading of "Hampton Court Gardens," of "£1,982 0*s.* 7*d.* due to John Tijou, Smith"—the conclusion being that in Tijou we must recognize the real author of these magnificent works of art. The clue thus afforded resulted in the discovery of the rare and curious book of Tijou's above cited, whereby the correctness of our surmise was demonstrated.

To Shaw, however, there may still remain the honour of having, with unequalled skill and art carried out the designs of the master, under whose immediate supervision he probably worked.

The explanation of Shaw being credited, by the memorial inscription, with the *designing* as well as the execution of the screens, perhaps lies in the exaggerated notion of his achievement, entertained by the friends and neighbours, who erected it to his memory. At any rate, we cannot suppose that Tijou could have ventured, a year or two after their completion, to lay claim publicly to works which did not really emanate from him—unless, indeed, the institution of artists' "ghosts" already flourished under the reign of William and Mary.

However this may be, and whatever share Huntingdon Shaw may have had in the creation of these beautiful works, certain it is that Jean Tijou was the only person recognized in the matter by the Board of Works and the Treasury. This recognition, however, was somewhat of a negative kind, considering that, as we have seen, there was in 1701, ten years after the work was finished, a sum of no less than £1,982 due to Tijou in respect of them, and that the bulk of the claim was still undischarged in 1703, nearly two years after the death of William III., when we find Tijou addressing a petition to the Lord High Treasurer of Queen Anne for payment of £1,889 1*s.* 6¼*d.* "due to him from the late King for the Ironwork at Hampton Court,

£1,782 1*s.* 6¼*d.* being in the gardens,"—that is, for these very screens![1] There is perhaps, therefore, some foundation for the story that Shaw died of disappointment at not receiving payment for his work; for Tijou, who himself remained so long unpaid, may naturally have been unable to remunerate the workman, who executed them under his direction.

From further researches among the old enrolled parchment accounts in the Record Office, we seem to have

The Lion Gates.

identified the exact charge made by him for these screens, together with the gates, which were ranged in the same fence with them[2]:—

"To John Tijou for 2 pair of great Iron Gates with two other little gates on each side thereof, for 8 square pillars of ornaments, 12 pannells for the circle of the Fountain Garden at Hampton Court

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvi., No. 96, July 7th, 1703.
[2] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, No. 296.

with ornaments, Iron and Workmanship included, and for 10 pilasters between the pannells; all Iron likewise included, £755 7*s.* 0*d.*"

The "12 pannells" are probably the beautiful screens in question; while of the "2 pair of Iron Gates with two other little gates on each side thereof," one is still to be seen halfway down the Long Walk, and the other is, perhaps, the entrance-gates to the Wilderness, now known, on account of the two great stone piers which flank it being surmounted by lions, as the "Lion Gates."

These gates are by no means of so elaborate a character as the screens, but they are, nevertheless, exceedingly fine specimens of ironwork.

There are, besides, in the same accounts, items payable to Jean Tijou for "Three iron gates on the Queen's side next the Parke, and workmanship—£360," and for another "three pair of Iron Gates"[1]—the first apparently to be identified with the garden gates, which are on the "Queen's side" of the Palace, and which figure among the engravings in Tijou's book.

Of Tijou, and of his life and works, nothing has hitherto been known, except that he was father-in-law to the painter Laguerre,[2] and that he designed the iron screens in the chancel of St. Paul's Cathedral.[3] His fame, however, will for the future rest on his achievements at Hampton Court, his title to which being now vindicated, we may hope that further particulars relating to him may come to light.

The twelve superb screens themselves unfortunately no longer decorate the gardens for which they were made. They were removed to the South Kensington Museum in 1865, a time when Hampton Court was also denuded of Raphael's cartoons, and of much furniture and tapestry, to

[1] *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, Nos. 296 and 297.

[2] Walpole's *Anecdotes.*

[3] Phillimore's *Life of Wren.*

stock that institution, then in its struggling infancy. Their removal was defended on the pretext that they were perishing from neglect and rust, as if they could not have been repaired, repainted, and taken care of where they stood! The real reason, however, of their being transferred from the gardens here to the museum at South Kensington, was that the museum at that period was much in want of objects of art to justify its existence, and to stock its then empty galleries. But now that this temporary need has passed away, and that the loan by the Crown to the National Museum has served its purpose—South Kensington having splendidly vindicated itself, and having since become richly endowed by most judicious purchases with public money and munificent private gifts and bequests—assuredly the time has arrived to consider, whether these splendid works of art should not all be restored to the Royal Palace, for which they were originally designed, where they would be seen by as many people and to greater advantage, and from which, in the view of many, it was a mistake ever to have removed them. The sounder views that now prevail on questions of historic art, and the interest attaching to local association, should, we venture to think, effect this desirable restitution before long.

Two of them, indeed, were afterwards, in deference to many protests, returned to Hampton Court, and are now placed, somewhat incongruously, in the Queen's Guard Chamber; while five others were sent not long since to the Bethnal Green Museum.

To return to the current of our narrative. All the works above described were still in active operation, when on December 28th, 1694, Queen Mary, who had been taken ill with smallpox but a few days before, breathed her last at Kensington Palace. It is to be noticed, therefore, that

her Majesty never occupied the State Apartments of the new Palace, the construction of which she had watched with so lively an interest; and further, that the works in the palace, gardens, and parks, which, one would infer from Macaulay's observations on William's improvements at Hampton Court, were carried out in a few months, were not in effect completed, as we shall find, for upwards of twelve years.

After the demise of Queen Mary the works at Hampton Court came more or less to a standstill for several years; for the King felt her loss so keenly as to care no more for the buildings and gardens, which they both had projected and superintended together. As Switzer observes: "Upon the death of that illustrious Princess, gardening and all other pleasures were under an eclipse with that Prince; and the beloved Hampton Court lay for some time unregarded." [1]

But early in January, 1698, an event occurred which induced King William to turn his attention once more to Hampton Court, and to make up his mind to complete what he had begun in conjunction with his wife. For, on the 4th of that month, the famous palace of Whitehall, which had already been partially consumed by fire in 1691, was, through the carelessness of a Dutch washerwoman, reduced to a heap of smoking ruins.[2]

Without heeding the ridiculous accusation of the Jacobites, that the King himself instigated the firing of it, we can well believe that the destruction of that interesting shrine of English history—founded by Cardinal Wolsey, enlarged by Henry VIII., and sanctified by the memories and associations of five generations of Tudors and Stuarts—affected William of Orange but little. For in our history

[1] *Ichnographia Rustica*, vol. i., p. 75.
[2] Ralph's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 783.

he took little interest, and for English traditions or antiquities he had no reverence or sympathy; and from the eagerness with which he demolished the ancient State Apartments at Hampton Court, and abandoned Greenwich and Richmond, and other ancient palaces of the sovereigns of England, to neglect, we might almost suppose that there was some foundation for the notion of the followers of King James, that he had "an unconquerable aversion to inhabit the houses of the uncle he had driven out."

We are, consequently, not surprised to learn that the flames, that devoured Wolsey's chapel and the "glorious gallery," that destroyed Holbein's splendid frescoes, and played round the Banqueting House of Inigo Jones, whence the Martyr-King had stepped forth on to the scaffold, though watched with grief and dismay by the inhabitants of London, excited little concern in the breast of the alien Prince. Perhaps, indeed, he viewed it with less than indifference; for, abhorring as he did the right which every Londoner enjoyed, by a prescription too long to be gainsaid, of entering Whitehall and seeing the King sitting at table and dining in state, he probably welcomed the opportunity, this conflagration afforded him, of putting an end to a custom, which, though considered unobjectionable by the genial and popular Tudors and Stuarts, undoubtedly was excessively obnoxious and irksome to his shy, unsociable nature, and his exclusive habits, and to that "disgusting dryness," which, according to his toady Bishop Burnet, "was his character at all times."

In his secret correspondence with Heinsius he frankly owned: "The loss is less to me than it would be to another person, for I cannot live there."[1] No attempt was therefore made to rebuild the devastated home of our English kings, though public opinion strongly urged that this

[1] Grimblot's *Letters of William III.*, vol. i., p. 144.

should be done, and though the opposition writers bitterly attacked him for not doing so,[1] and for not availing himself of the opportunity thus offering itself of giving London a palace worthy of England's kings. On the contrary, the portions that escaped the fire were demolished, and the ground scandalously parcelled out among his Dutch parasites.

A fresh excuse was thus afforded for expending further sums on the completion of the new Palace at Hampton Court; and after having been in the hands of the workmen for nearly ten years, its preparation for immediate occupation was forthwith pressed on.

We may mention here that Sir Christopher Wren, whose aid the King again invoked, was, at this time, Grand Master of the Freemasons, and that William, who had himself been initiated by his architect into the mysteries of the craft in 1695, often presided over a lodge at Hampton Court, while the Palace was being completed—a fact curious to notice, at a time when operative masonry was about to give place to speculative masonry.[2]

[1] Macaulay's *History*, chap. xxiii.
[2] Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle*, vol. viii., p. 765.

CHAPTER V.

FITTING AND DECORATION OF KING WILLIAM'S APARTMENTS—IMPROVEMENTS IN THE GARDENS.

Sir Christopher Wren's interesting Estimate—Proposals for Fitting the Inside of the Rooms of State—Their Cost—Gibbons' beautiful Carvings in Lime-wood—Their consummate Delicacy—Frieze in the King's Great Bedchamber—Verrio employed by William III.—Paints the Ceiling of William III.'s Great Bedchamber—Ceiling of the Little Bedchamber or Dressing Room—Painting of the King's Great Staircase—Its Gorgeousness—Improvements in the Gardens—The Great Fountain Garden—The Broad Walk—The Gardeners, London and Wise—Their Style of Gardening—The Old Arbour—The Flower-Pot Gate—Improvements in the Wilderness—Espalier Work—Troy Town—The Maze.

VERY soon after the disastrous fire at Whitehall, King William instructed Sir Christopher Wren to furnish him with "an estimate of the expense of fitting the Inside of the Rooms of State at Hampton Court." The estimate, which is dated April 28th, 1699, and which is entirely in Sir Christopher's handwriting, was discovered in 1847, all saturated with wet, and reduced almost to a pulp.[1] With great care it was dried

[1] It is printed in the *Eighth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix II., pp. 200, 201. The reporter, Mr. William H. Black, gives an idea of the difficulties to be contended with in arranging the State Records. "Tens of thousands of documents," he writes, "have been in this plight; and the odour arising from some of the boxes when first opened has been almost intolerable. I became ill, and was obliged to go into the country for two days, in consequence of inhaling the effluvia, when I had examined less than a fifth part of the boxes to ascertain their state."

unhurt, unravelled and flattened into pages, and is now safely preserved in the Record Office. It is as follows :—

Estimat of Finishing part of Hampton Court.
To the King's Most Excellent M^tie.

May it please Y^r M^tie,

Your M^tie having been graciously pleased to signifie y^r Cōmandes to me, that I should give an Estimate of the Expence of fitting the Inside of the Roomes of State at Hampton Court, from the entrance out of the Portico to the roomes already finished above Staires, Containing the Great staires, the Guard Chamber, the Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Drawing roome, Ante roome, Great bed-chamber, Lobby & Gallery for the pictures: in pursuance of this cōmand I humbly represent that although a perfect estimate of Finishing the Inside of any house is as uncertain as the charge of Furnishing, & is more or less according to the Intention of the owner; yet upon supposition that your Ma^tie would finish as decently as the greatness of the Roomes seems to require, and having Consulted y^r ma^ties officers of the workes what is requisit to be don, & the charge of each Roome, I have represented the worke of each Roome, and the totall expense as followeth

1. *The Great Staires* to be made with Steps of the Irish Stone, such as are at Kensington, but longer and easier, with Iron Rayles of good worke, the Floor & Harth-paces to be well paved with marble; the walls to be wanscoted twenty foot high, with five Dore-cases.

2. *The Guard Chamber* to (be) fitted for Armes as at Windsor and other houses.

3. *The Presence-Chamber* to be fitted for Hangings, with marble in the chimney and the Stooles of the Windowes, and proper Ornaments.

4. *The Privy Chamber* in like manner.

5. *The Drawing-roome* with some variety, as having the best furniture.

6. *The Ante-roome* well finished.

7. *The Great bed Chamber* to be perfected.

8. *The Gallery* to be fitted for the cartoons with wainscote on the windowe side and below the Pictures and between them, to preserve them from the walls, and with a marble chimney & marble Soyles in the windowes, and other things proper to complete the same.

9. *The Lobby* between the presence & Gallery to be ceeled and finished.

10. The boards of all these Roomes (being already provided very good and drie) are to be layd after the best manner without nayles and with battens under the joyntes.

The expense of this worke thus performed by good Artists will amount to the sume of . . . . 6800li.

All the insides of these roomes have been long since designed and shall be presented to Yr Mtie for your approbation and correction and accordingly the expense may prove more or lesse ; but I am humbly of opinion the worke may be decently performed to your Mties satisfaction for the sume above mentioned.

It may further be considered that other things will be required for the accommodation of those who are to be neare your Royall person, and that the Courtes must be paved, more Sewers made and the water brought to more places and other things necessary for your Mties service which may be estimated as they are directed.

All which is most humbly submitted.

April 28, 1699. CHR. WREN.

These works which, it will be observed, relate only to the King's own rooms, and do not apply to the Queen's rooms or the bulk of the rest of the new Palace, were authorized and begun forthwith ; and about a fortnight after —on Monday, the 15th of May—the King came down to Hampton Court to dine and see what progress was being made.[1] The estimate was very closely adhered to, and very few deviations from Wren's suggestions were sanctioned ; in fact, the only noticeable point was that the window-stools were made of oak instead of marble. The first six rooms cost £5,246 11*s.* 11*d.* ; while the "finishing of the Great Bed Chamber"—with items not particularized by Wren, such as two closets (the King's Writing Closet, and the so-called Queen Mary's Closet) and some back-stair rooms—"and the Communication Gallery, the King's Eating-Room, & the lobby between the two galleries, with ye smoking

[1] Luttrell's *Diary.*

room to the guard chamber, fixing the arms there, etc.," raised the total to £7,092 19*s.* 0½*d.*[1]

These charges, however, were independent of the sums paid to Verrio for painting the King's Great Staircase, William III.'s State Bedchamber, and his Dressing Room; and possibly, also, those paid to Gibbons for the exquisite carvings with which he ornamented every room.

As to Gibbons, we have already seen in a previous page,[2] that he had, in the earlier half of the decade, done a good deal of work here for the King, both in stone on the outside, and in wood in the inside, of the Palace; and in the summer of this year, 1699, we may be sure that he was hard at work on those beautiful garlands of fruit, flowers, and dead game in lime-wood that are among the most attractive ornaments of the King's State Apartments. His skill in this particular style of work—which he may be said to have originated, and in which he has remained without a rival to this day—was consummate. Never before or since, has an artist's hand given to wood, with such exquisite delicacy, the loose and airy lightness of the leaves and petals of flowers, and the downy softness of the feathers of birds. And it was not only in lime-wood that he produced these remarkable effects: even in oak he achieved results, which were almost more wonderful, considering the difficulty of working in so hard a wood. Of this there is a beautiful specimen, in one of the rooms, on the ground floor in the south-east angle of the new Palace, in the suite which seems to have formed part of William III.'s private apartments, and which communicate by a private stair with the State Apartments on the first floor above, there is an admirably carved oak mantelpiece representing various musical instruments and a music score.

[1] Report of the Officers of Works to the Lords of the Treasury, *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 38.

[2] *Ante*, p. 51.

This carving was probably executed in the summer of the year of which we are now writing; as was doubtless also that in King William's State Bedchamber, which is more elaborately decorated in this respect than others of the suite; and which, beside the usual festoons, is ornamented with a beautiful border or frieze of foliated scroll-work just below the cornice.

It was the King's State Bedchamber, also, on which Verrio first began to work, and on the ceiling of which he expended his best efforts of art, when he came—probably in the summer of 1699—to paint the State Apartments for William III. For some time after the Revolution, he, as a Catholic and a loyal adherent of King James, refused to work for William of Orange at all; but at length, by persuasion of Lord Exeter, for whom he had executed a great many ceilings and staircases at Burleigh, he condescended to serve the heretical usurper in this Palace.

The ceiling of the State Bedchamber, which, as we have said, he seems to have undertaken first, and which may be looked upon as one of his most successful achievements, is appropriately painted with designs emblematic of Sleep, showing in one part Endymion reposing in the lap of Morpheus, while Diana, in her crescent, admires him as he slumbers; and in the other part a figure of Somnus, with his attendants. The border has four small landscapes, and boys with baskets, intermingled with poppies.

The King—so we learn from a letter of Verrio's, written after his Majesty's death—"contracted for painting his great bedchamber at Hampton Court at a rate certain, which came to the neat sume of £400, and was paid. It was agreed he should be paid at the same rate for whatever work he did. He had painted the great staircase and little bedchamber, amounting to £1,800."[1] The room

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxi., No. 22. See *post*, p. 173.

here mentioned as the "Little Bedchamber" is the one which adjoins the great State Bedchamber, and is now known as the "King's Dressing Room." Verrio's ceiling, which is still as fresh as on the day it was painted, represents Mars reposing in the lap of Venus, while Cupids steal his shield, armour, spear, sword, and helmet, and entwine his arms and legs with wreaths of roses; the border being decorated with orange trees in ornamental pots or vases, with jasmine and other trees, and with parrots and other birds. The whole appearance of this little room, which is only twenty-four feet by fourteen, is pretty and attractive; and the corner fireplace, with its marble chimneypiece, its antique iron fireback—showing Neptune and attendant mermaids—and its curious oak mantelpiece, the shelves of which diminish as they rise one above another, and have pieces of Queen Mary's china ranged upon them, is characteristic of old times.

With regard to the painting of the King's Great Staircase, it is certainly one of Verrio's largest and most gorgeous, if not most important works; and though, in the opinion of Horace Walpole, he painted it "as ill as if he had spoiled it out of principle," we cannot, for our own part, see that it is much worse than most of his other efforts—unless, indeed, that being larger, there is more of it, and we hold the view that the less of Verrio the better.

In his own day, at any rate, his performances were held in very high esteem. Evelyn thought "his design and colouring and exuberance of invention comparable to the greatest old masters, or what they do in France;" while others grew so enthusiastic as to give vent to their feelings in verse :—

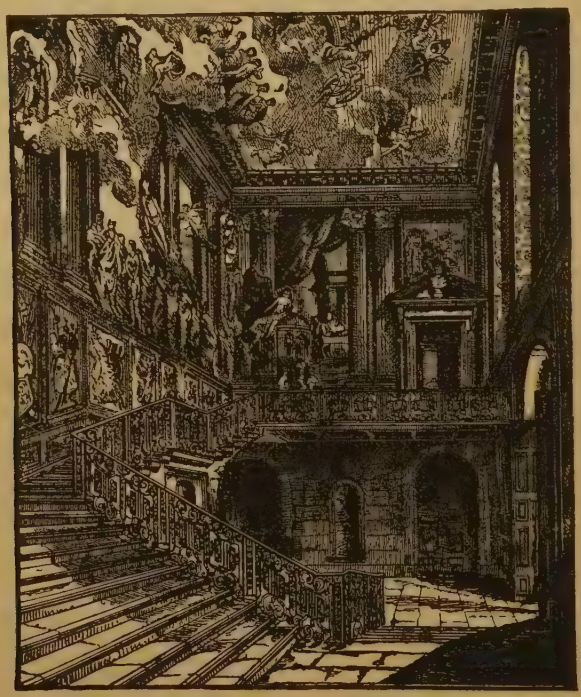
> Great Verrio's hand hath drawn
> The gods in dwellings brighter than their own.[1]

[1] Thomas Tickell's *Poems*.

His fame, however, was short-lived, and Pope's couplet :—

> On painted ceilings you devoutly stare
> Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre,

has given the cue to all criticism since.



The King's Great Staircase.

The painting of this staircase, which is 43 feet long, 37 feet wide, and about 40 feet high, affords us a characteristic and glaring example of the tasteless exuberance of

Verrio's pencil: Gods and Goddesses, Nymphs and Satyrs, Bacchanalians and River Deities, Virtues and Attributes, Zephyrs and Cupids, Apollo and the Nine Muses, Æneas and the twelve Cæsars, Juno and her peacock, Diana and the rainbow, Ganymede and the eagle, Fame blowing her trumpet, Fate slitting the thread of life, Ceres with a wheatsheaf, Peace with an olive branch, Pan with his reeds, Hercules with his club, Romulus and the wolf, Julian the Apostate, with Mercury as his secretary, all jostle one another in amazing confusion, in impossible attitudes and wonderful attire, sitting on reeds, floating on clouds, sailing between columns, and reclining beneath canopies of rainbows, flowers, and zephyrs' heads.

The general effect, however, if one does not linger over the details, is striking and gorgeous, and the whole decoration of the staircase, with its walls in their lower part painted in monochrome with emblems and trophies of war, its broad steps of Irish stone, and its handsome ballister of wrought iron, is splendid and magnificent enough, even for the most sumptuous fancy, and forms as good a specimen as there is anywhere in England of that gaudy French taste, which in this reign finally triumphed over our less pretentious, but more picturesque native style.

But the improvements were not confined to the interior of the Palace. Orders were at the same time given by the King for increasing the number of fountains in the great semicircular garden, for designing the magnificent terrace, or Broad Walk, no less than 2,300 feet, or nearly half a mile long, in front of the eastern façade, and for laying out the two oblong divisions of the gardens on both sides of the central part, between the Broad Walk and the House Park. William himself attended to all the details, "particularly the dimensions of the fountains, and what quantity of water they should cast up, and increased the number of them after the

first design."[1] The items during the summer months amounted to about £5,000, and included a sum of £1,721, "to build a wall next the Wilderness to answer that on the East side of the Terrace in the Gallery Garden," which walls are the western boundaries of the two new divisions.[2]

The estimate for these works bears the signature "George London," who, as we have seen,[3] was one of the King's head-gardeners, and to whom, in conjunction with Henry Wise, his coadjutor, belongs the credit of laying out all the gardens and parks at Hampton Court in their present general form.

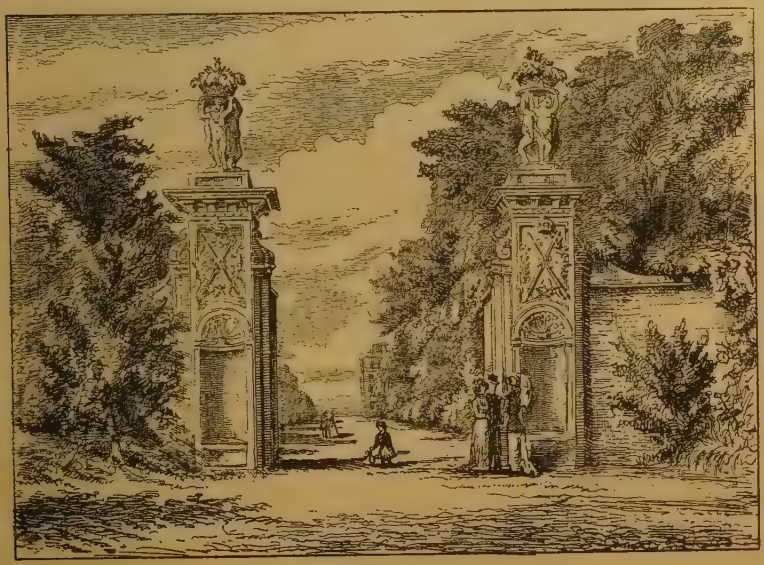
Their style, as carried out here, as well as at Chatsworth, which they had laid out in 1694, and at Blenheim, which they undertook subsequently, combined the special features of the French taste, such as fountains, terraces, flights of steps, statues, etc., and those of the Dutch, such as box, clipped yews, and borders of plants and flowers figured like lace patterns. Indeed, they comprehended in their scheme almost as many things as are declared by Evelyn to be necessary for a royal garden, namely: "knots, trayle-work, parterres, compartments, borders, banks, embossments, labyrinths, dædals, cabinets, cradles, close-walls, galleries, pavilions, porticoes, lanthorns, and other relievos of topiary and horticular architecture; fountaines, jettes, cascades, pisceries, rocks, grottoes, cryptæ, mounts, precipices, venti-ducts, gazon theatres, artificial echoes, automate and hydraulic music."

[1] Defoe's *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, vol. ii., p. 246.

[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 14. See Appendix A. In the *Audit Office Declared Accounts*, Bundle 2482, No. 299, we find further particulars relating to these works and those in the Privy Garden and Wilderness, especially "for carving two large Urnes with festoons and four faces on each Urne and for severll ffoot of superficiall molding in a pair of Peers adjoyning to y^e^ House before the Princess's Lodgings"—apparently those in the little garden called Lady Mornington's (see *post*), Chapter XXII.

[3] See *ante*, p. 20.

One of London and Wise's garden curiosities at Hampton Court was an arbour, which was still in existence some ten or fifteen years ago, but which has unfortunately since then been entirely removed, instead of being repaired and preserved, as it might have been. It was described in an account of these gardens written in 1783,[1] "as a most elegant



The Flower-Pot Gate.

alcove, consisting entirely of, and arched over with, trellis. Though the carpenter cannot be too much commended for the execution of his work, yet there is certainly a great absurdity in such a building, as it neither excludes wind, sun, or rain." This arbour was built against the wall of the garden at the north end of the Lime Walk.

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 124.

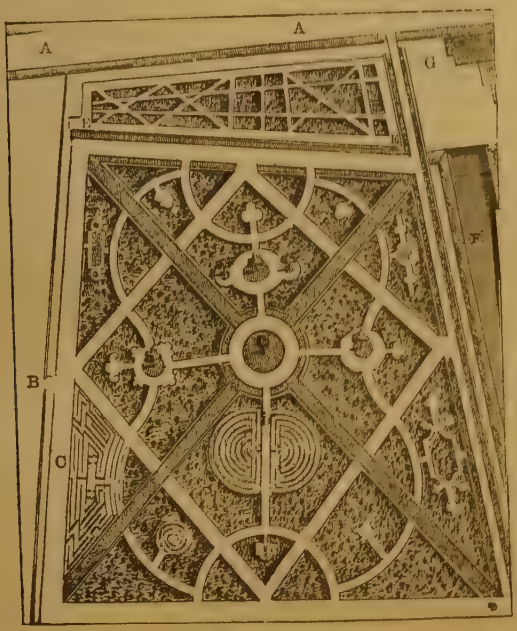
In the same part of the gardens, at the north end of the Great Broad Walk, is a beautiful old gate, known by the name of the "Flower-Pot Gate," which must have been erected about this time. It is flanked by two handsomely carved piers of Portland stone, which, among other ornaments, have panels carved with William III.'s initials, and a sceptre and sword crossed, with the crown above. The piers are surmounted by charming figures of boys bearing baskets or pots of flowers, whence the name of this gate.

From London's estimate we find that some improvements were also in progress in the Privy Gardens—£832 being charged for "making four flights of steps" there, and other mason's work; while the old orchard was also taken in hand, and converted into a "Wilderness."[1] "On the north side of the House," writes Defoe, "where the gardens seemed to want screening from the weather, or the view of the chapel, and some part of the old building required to be covered from the eye, the vacant ground, which was large, is very happily cast into a Wilderness, with a Labyrinth, and Espaliers so high, that they effectually take off all that part of the old building, which would have been offensive to the sight. This Labyrinth and Wilderness is not only well designed, and completely finished, but is perfectly well kept, and the espaliers filled exactly, at bottom to the very ground, and are led up to proportioned heights on the top; so that nothing of that kind can be more beautiful."[2]

This favourable verdict of Defoe's as to the plantation of the Wilderness was not, however, endorsed by his editors: for in the edition of the "Tour through Great Britain,"[3] published in 1742, instead of these commendatory remarks, they substituted the following criticism, with which we are

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv., No. 109.
[2] *Tour through Great Britain.*
[3] Vol. i., p. 239.

more disposed to agree: "As the whole contrivance of the Plantations is in regular strait walks, bounded on each side by tall clipped Hedges, which divide the whole ground into



Plan of the Wilderness.

A.—The Broad Walk.
B.—The Lion Gates.
C.—The Maze.
D.—"Troy Town."
E.—The Grove or Bosquet.
F.—The Moat.
G.—Tennis Court House.

angular Quarters, to every person of taste it must be very far from affording any pleasure, since nothing can be more disagreeable than to be immured between hedges, so as to

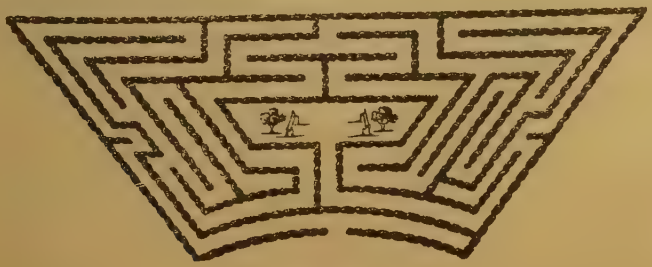
have the Eye confined to a straight walk, and the Beauty of the Trees growing in the quarters, intirely secluded from the Eye. And at the same time as you are walking in this unmeaning plantation, you are denied the benefit of shade, by being confined to these regular walks, where it would be deemed an unpardonable fault, to suffer the neighbouring trees to diffuse their branches over these shorn hedges; so that, in the midst of a wood, a person may faint for shade in a sultry day, the air being excluded from these walks by the taller trees in the quarters; and pent-up air is much more troublesome in hot weather, than the heat of the sun in the most open exposed plain."

The above cut, taken from an engraving of Hampton Court, published in the reign of George II.,[1] will show the truth of this criticism of the design of the "Wilderness" as laid out by London and Wise, which corresponds, by the way, with an old plan in the Office of Her Majesty's Works, which we shall have occasion to reproduce later.[2] Though transformed in minor details, it still preserves its main features, prominent among which is the labyrinth or maze in the triangular space in the lower left-hand corner. In other parts other horticultural fantasies and curiosities are indicated, such as spirals and concentric semicircles of espalier work, the latter designated as "Troy Town" (Plan de Troy). A good idea of these and of the whole Wilderness is afforded by the bird's-eye view of Hampton Court inserted on page 178.

The Labyrinth or Maze is now one of the best known and most popular attractions of Hampton Court, and has afforded infinite amusement and delight to three generations of English boys and girls. The winding walks, though they do not cover a space of more than a quarter of

[1] In 1736, dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales.
[2] See *post*, p. 80.

an acre, amount to nearly half a mile.[1] There is a stand adjacent, in which the custodian places himself, in order to extricate you by his directions, should you acknowledge that



The Maze.

you are completely tired and puzzled. Switzer, however, condemned this maze for having but four stops, whereas he had given a plan for one with twenty!

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 124.

CHAPTER VI.

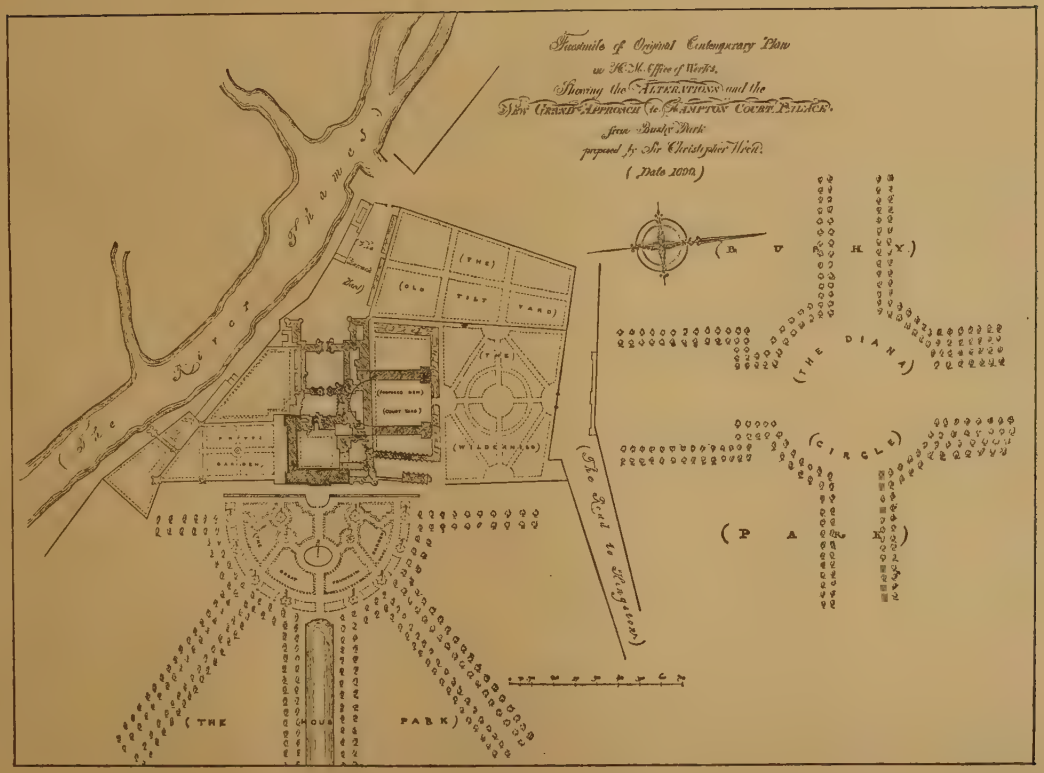
WORKS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN BUSHEY PARK—THE KING'S STATE ROOMS.

The Avenues and Drive in Bushey Park—The Great Basin—Great Chestnut Avenue—Projected Grand New Approach to the Palace—Plan of the proposed Splendid New Entrance Court—Still vaster Projects of Improvement—Four Hundred Men employed on the Works—The Clerkship of the Works—Talman's Animus against Wren—The King's Impatience to occupy the new Apartments—Letter of Talman's about the Works—The Cartoon Gallery—Its Defects as a Picture Gallery—An artistic Locksmith—Return of William III.—His Visits to Hampton Court—The King's Guard Chamber—Further Improvements—New Fish Ponds in Bushey Park—A Highway Robbery.

BESIDES the account, belonging to the summer of this year 1699, for improving the Great Fountain Garden, signed "Henry Wise," there is another one in the same volume of the Treasury Papers, relating to the laying out of Bushey Park in the form which it now presents, with its stately lime-tree groves, its great circular basin, and its chestnut trees, which stretch away on the north side of it, in a magnificent avenue a mile long. Some of the items of charges, which show how a bare flat piece of ground was transformed into one of the noblest parks in England, may be not uninteresting to gardening antiquaries; so they are collected in the appendix.[1]

Here we will only observe that the works consisted

[1] See Appendix B, and *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 14.

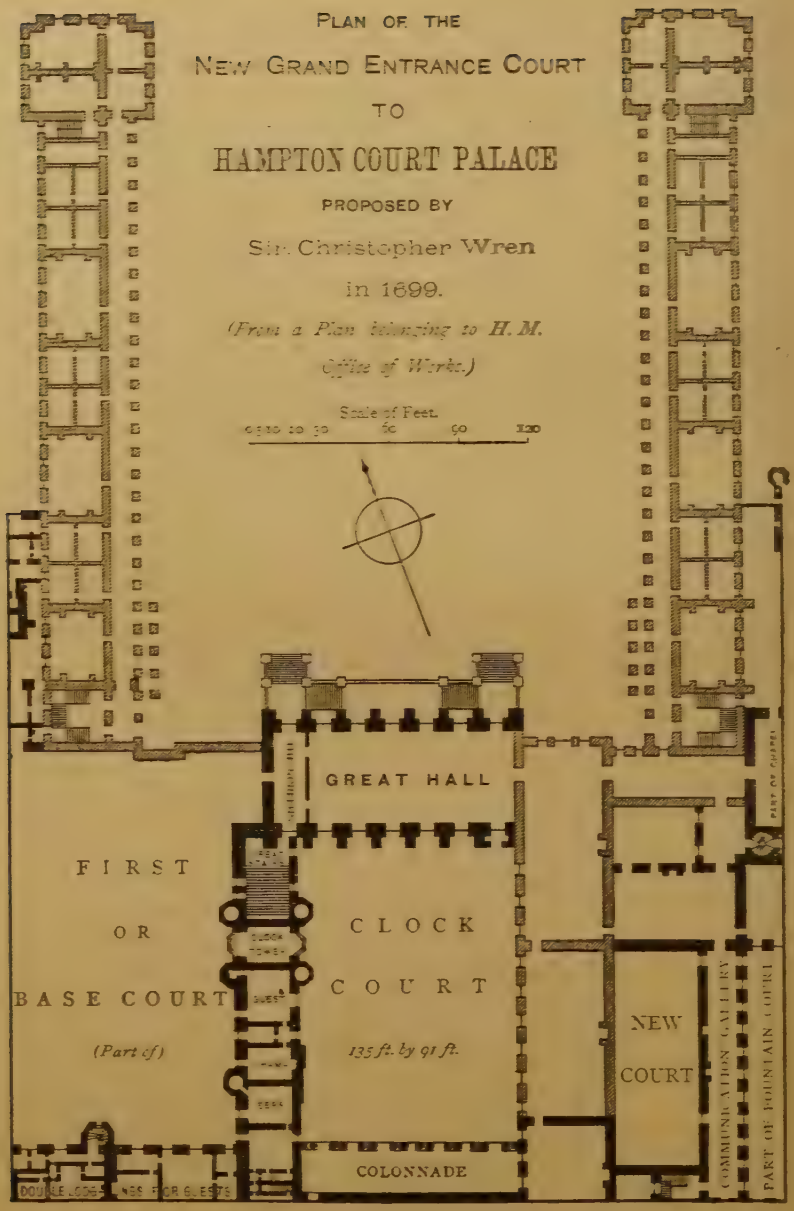

Facsimile of Original Contemporary Plan
in H.M. Office of Works,
Showing the ALTERATIONS and the
New GRAND APPROACH to HAMPTON COURT PALACE.
from Bushy Park
prepared by Sir Christopher Wren.
(Date 1699)
(THE PARK)
(THE DIAL)
(CIRCLE)
(PARK)
(The Road to Kingston)

in making a great drive through the Park, 60 feet in width and about a mile in length; in forming, near the Hampton Court end, a circle, in the centre of which was dug a great Basin—now called "the Diana"—400 feet in diameter and 5 feet in depth; in planting, on both sides of the road and parallel to it, and also round the circle, four rows of lime-trees, with a row of horse-chestnuts next to the road, to form the great Chestnut Avenue, leading from Teddington to the north entrance of Hampton Court; and in making two other avenues, each originally about three-quarters of a mile in length, divergent from the circle and at right angles to the great avenue, one leading to the Paddock, and the other leading to Hampton. The trees numbered altogether 732 limes and 274 chestnuts; and all these works, such was the cheapness of labour and materials, cost but £4,300.[1]

This Great Chestnut Avenue was evidently laid out with the object of forming a grand approach, not merely to the Lion Gates and the Wilderness, which now close its vista, but also to a new and stately Entrance Court, which in size and splendour would have been adequate to the importance of the Palace, and in keeping with the magnificence of Wren's Quadrangle. The plan for these improvements, which is preserved in the Office of Her Majesty's Works, shows that it was intended to have carried a road straight through the Wilderness and across the old moat, to lead up to the new court, 300 feet long by 230 feet broad, which would have occupied the ground now called "the old Melon Ground"[2] and the intervening space up to the Great Hall. The Court Yard, as the annexed facsimile of the plan shows, was to be enclosed on the east and west sides by buildings, doubtless the same in style as the rest of the new Palace; the north side, towards the avenue, was to be open; and on the south side there were to be, besides other

[1] See Appendix B.

[2] At present leased to Mr. Laytham.


PLAN OF THE
NEW GRAND ENTRANCE COURT
TO
HAMPTON COURT PALACE
PROPOSED BY
Sir. Christopher Wren
in 1699.
(From a Plan belonging to H.M. Office of Works.)
Scale of Feet.
0 5 10 20 30 60 90 120
GREAT HALL
FIRST
OR
BASE COURT
(Part of)
CLOCK
COURT
135 ft. by 91 ft.
NEW
COURT
COLONNADE
COMMUNICATION GALLERY
PART OF FOUNTAIN COURT

architectural features, a colonnade and several great flights of steps. These were to lead up to the Great Hall, which was to be entered in the centre of its north side, and was to be the vestibule of the Palace, whence access was to be obtained, through a series of fine spacious new chambers, to the suite already constructed.

That this plan was in view when the Chestnut Avenue was planted, is evident both from the old plans in Her Majesty's Office of Works, in the Library of All Souls' College, and in Sir John Soane's Museum, and also from the fact that the central line of the Avenue, when prolonged, intersects the north wall of the Hall exactly in the middle.

The execution of the design would, of course, have involved the destruction of much of the older buildings, which, under the circumstances, fortunately remain to us, such as the old kitchens and the Tudor cloisters. Had it not been for this, we should have had every reason to regret that a scheme, calculated to add so much dignity to Hampton Court, was not carried out, it being especially an approach and entrance, worthy of its size and splendour, that the Palace at present lacks.

But beyond this, there are among Wren's papers, several outline plans, indicating that still more extensive schemes had, at any rate, been sketched out, which would have involved the destruction of the first two Tudor courts at least, if not of nearly the whole of the old Palace, and the substitution for them of rectangular blocks, in the same classic style as the quadrangle actually built. Of this we have confirmation in what Defoe says: "I have been assured that had the Peace continued, and the King lived to enjoy the continuance of it, his Majesty had resolved to have pulled down all the remains of the old Building; such as the Chapel, and the large Court within the First Gate, and to have built up the whole Palace after the manner of those two Fronts already done."

"In these," he goes on to say, "would have been an entire set of Rooms of State for the receiving, and if need had been, Lodging and entertaining any foreign Prince, with his Retinue; also for offices for all the Secretaries of State, Lords of the Treasury, and of Trade; to have repaired to for the Despatch of such Business, as it might be necessary to have done there upon the King's longer Residence there than ordinary; as also Apartments for all the great officers of the Household; so that had the House had two great Squares added, as was designed, there would have been no room to spare, or that would not have been very well filled. But the King's death put an end to all these things."[1]

Had they been accomplished, William would indeed have succeeded—as was ever his aim in his works at Hampton Court—in matching the glories of Versailles on the banks of the Thames, and England would have been endowed with one of the vastest and most splendid palaces in Europe.

With such extensive schemes in hand, we shall not be surprised to find that no less than 400 men were daily engaged in expediting the works, against the King's return from Holland, whither he went on June 1st, 1699.[2]

We have already had occasion to notice the hostility which Talman seems to have entertained against Wren; and about this time we are afforded another instance of his malevolence. The incident is also worth noticing, as a strange indication of the tendency, ever at work in old days, of public offices becoming hereditary. It appears that the resident clerk of the works of the Palace, whose name was Symonds, and who was a nephew of Sir Christopher's, had recently died; and according to the statement in a petition of his widow addressed to the Treasury, his uncle had promised him on his deathbed, "that he would get someone to be appointed to his place, in trust for herself and son." She added, "he

[1] *Tour through Great Britain.* [2] See Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary.*

had warned y^r^ poor petitioner out of his Ma^ts^ house which her husband left her in, and noe manner of care is had of y^r^ poor Pet^rs^ child." The petition was referred to Talman, as the Comptroller of Works, who in his report took care to press the case as strongly as possible against Wren. He declared that the petitioner's allegations were true, that Sir Christopher Wren utterly refused to do anything therein, that he had positively promised the employment at one and the same time to several others, and that he had given it to a Mr. Ball, his kinsman, who was already clerk of the works at Windsor. Under these circumstances, he advised that her son should be appointed to his father's place, with a suitable deputy, until he was of fit age to execute the duties.

Sir Christopher's letter refuting the charges brought against him, deserves to be transcribed, as an instance of his straightforwardness, moderation, and good taste. It is dated July 12th, 1699, and addressed to Sir John Clayton.

Sir, It is noe surprise to mee to heare the ill news of my deare Nephew's death, having but little reason to expect his recovery when I last saw him. I am much aflicted for his family and am not a little afraid it will not be in my power to serve the poor Children in the way I had projected for them, for it is not an hour since a servant neer the King's person came to me with a sort of mandamus, if I can weather this point, the best I can doe, will be that a friend and not a stranger should succeed; I heartily lament his Death and his being long soe dangerously ill hath created once not a little trouble to answer the sollicitacõns of great persons whom I must and will disoblige. I wish the best comfort to the good widdow, who hath shown herself a tender nurse and infinitely deserved the good opinion of all his Relations, and particularly of

Sr.,
Y^r^ very humble servant,
CHR. WREN.[1]

In the meanwhile, King William was still abroad; but

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxiii., No. 46.

even amid the delights of his old beloved home at Loo, he was not forgetful of the new palace he was raising at Hampton Court. So anxious was he that everything should be ready when he came back, that, at the end of the month of August, he sent over his housekeeper, Mr. Bryan, from Holland, to announce that he should return at the latter end of September; and that he expected the new apartments at Hampton Court to be ready by that time, for several foreign princes were coming with him, who were to be lodged in that palace, "where all foreign ambassadors were for the future to have their audience."[1]

They were accordingly pushed on with all possible expedition, and Talman, in a letter dated Sept. 7-12, to someone about the King's person, whose name does not appear in the document,[2] writes thus :—

> The 5 Roomes are almost finished, the great Stone Staires is done, and the Iron-work putt-up, the Gallery for the Cartoons of Raphell is soe forward, that I shall fix up the pictures in a week, the King's great Bedchamber and two closetts are in hand that his Ma^tie will find I have made use of my time, for it proves a greater work than I expected, and I hope it will be to his Ma^ts satisfac̃on.

As to the Great Staircase, we have already noticed the painting of its walls and ceiling by Verrio. The ironwork of the baluster, which is very fine, was doubtless designed by Tijou.

[1] Luttrell.
[2] *British Museum Additional MSS.*, No. 10,101, fol. 69.

"The Gallery for the Cartoons of Raphael," which the reader may remember was, according to the proposal of Wren, to be fitted "with wainscot on the window side, and below the pictures, and between them to preserve them from the walls," is also known as the King's Gallery. It is one of the finest of the new State Rooms, being 117 feet long, 24 feet broad, and 28 feet high, and it extends along the whole of one side of the Fountain Court, and has twelve windows. Its appearance, with the cartoons hanging on its walls, is well shown in the engraving inserted further on, in Chapter XII.

As a gallery, however, for the displaying of the cartoons, it was not altogether a success. The position assigned to them, above the oak wainscot, was so high, that the lower edge of the pictures was but a few inches below the top of the windows; and the upper circular windows, which might easily have been pierced, and which thus would have given a great deal more light to the room, have never been made at all, but their spaces, on the outside, painted with the frescoes of Laguerre before noticed; and, on the inside, covered with a heavy oak cornice. This arrangement would be quite unaccountable, unless its object were to guard against the injury, which the pictures might receive from excessive daylight; and which, it is said, they have already sustained during the twenty-five years they have hung in the South Kensington Museum, since their removal in 1865. We trust that the advisability of their being returned to Hampton Court, and rehung in the gallery expressly built for them by Sir Christopher Wren, which is in many respects admirably suited for their reception, and which, if the upper windows were pierced, would be entirely unexceptionable, may soon be entertained; and that being removed once more to the purer air of Hampton Court, they may yet remain for many generations unimpaired,

which they certainly will not, if subjected much longer to the gassy, smoke-laden, and corroding atmosphere of London.

To proceed with Talman's letter: he next refers to the making of the road "60 feet broad through the Middle Park, and a Bason of 400 feet diameter in the middle of the Circle of Trees, which will be very noble. We have aboundance of projects," he adds, "(if his Ma^tie will like them) by severall Noble Lords that we here call *the Critiques*."

He then goes on to notice a difficulty he had got into, by entrenching on the Lord Chamberlain's department, in the matter of a locksmith, thus affording us a curious instance of that jealousy between his Lordship's Office and the Board of Works, which seems to have been always latent, and which rumour says is not entirely extinct in our day.

As His Majesty had given me power to finish his lodgings at Hampton Court, I concluded I was to take care that every workman there employed should be a sufficient artist in his way. I find one Greenaway his Ma^ts Locksmith by Warrant, who pretends hee has made the Locks for all the Lodgings, ever since the Queen's death, for Hampton Court.[1] The truth is the man is a very dull Smith, not brought up to that trade, but of late yeares has taken it up and has beene several trades. I have no prejudice to the man, but hee is an ignorant fellow. My Lord Ranelagh has desired me to employ one Keys, who is the most ingenious man in Europe and for whose work I will answere; hee is making ten Locks for the Gallery, King's Bedchamber, Little Bedchamber and the two Closetts, that the Locks of these Rooms might answer the rest of y^e finishing, but S^r John Stanley has sent me a very sharp letter that if I intrench upon the Lord Chamberlaine's Office, he must complaine to y^e King. S^r there is as much difference between the two men in their Art, as between Vulcan and Venus. S^r if it is not improper to desire you to know of his Ma^tie whether I may goe on

[1] That his pretensions were founded on fact, is proved by the Lord Chamberlain's warrants, among which is his appointment, in the first year of William and Mary's reign, as "Locksmith to their Majesties," and orders for many payments to him.

with those Locks (they being already half done) and the other may doe the rest (what I undertake I would have of a piece). I should be glad of the favour of an answere and am with the profoundest respect,

S^r^

Your most obliged humble servant

W^m^ TALMAN.

The recommendation of Lord Ranelagh seems to have prevailed, and the Board of Works scored one in their perennial contest with the Lord Chamberlain's Office. For in a list of debts in the Office of Works, furnished to the Treasury after the death of William III., we find, under the heading "Hampton Court," the name of Josiah Key, smith, entered as a debtor for work done to the amount of £800; while the name of Greenaway is nowhere to be found among the old accounts, after this time.

Key was, in truth, thoroughly deserving of the commendation bestowed on him by Talman; for the locks he made for the State Apartments, not only retain to this day the greatest excellence of mechanism and perfection of finish, but they also exhibit, in the brasswork that decorates them, a workmanship than which there is nothing finer of the sort in England.

Notwithstanding every effort, however, and although workmen were employed without intermission,[1] it was found impossible to have them quite ready in time, though the King's return was delayed till nearly the third week in October.

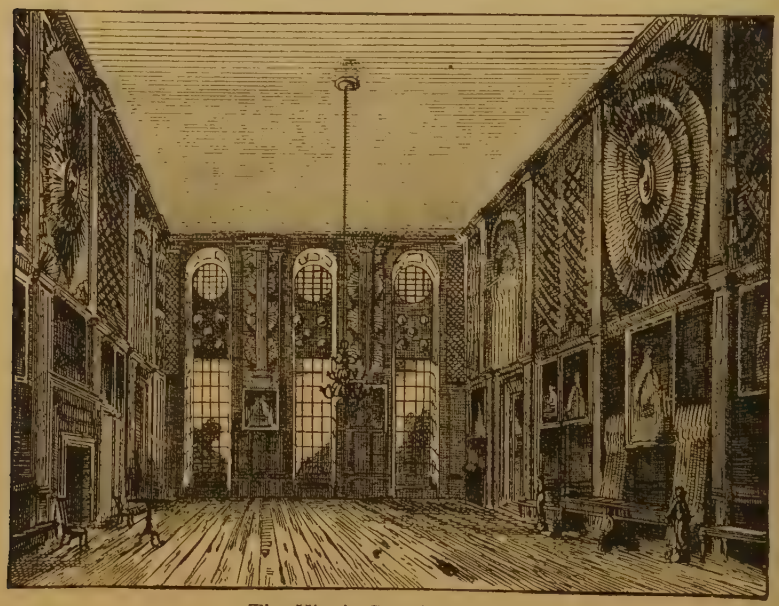
Four days after his arrival at Kensington, as soon as he could escape from the press of State business, and the receiving of loyal addresses and deputations, he came down to inspect the new buildings, which, in their now almost completed state, pleased him exceedingly.[2] The magnificent

[1] Luttrell, Sept. 19th.

[2] On Thursday, Oct. 23rd, Monday, Oct. 30th, and Nov. 7th. See Luttrell and the *London Gazette*.

Guard Chamber, of which we annex a sketch, excited universal admiration, and the King declared that "the new apartments for good proportions, state and convenience jointly, were not paralleled by any palace in Europe." [1]

The King's Guard Chamber, which is one of the finest rooms of the suite, being 60½ feet long, 37¼ feet wide, and



The King's Guard Chamber.

28 feet high, is curiously decorated with old arms, so arranged by a common gunsmith named Harris, who had decorated the Guard Chambers at the Tower and Windsor in this fashion. Harris, we are told,[2] received a pension from the Crown for his ingenuity.

The arms are exactly 3,141 in number. Facing the door

[1] Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 326. [2] *Apelles Britannicus*, 1741.

are three trophies of five drums each, fixed between the upper circular windows of the half-storey and the lower windows. The lower part of the other walls are panelled with oak to about 15 feet in height; the upper part is

William III.'s Dutch Guard in the Guard Chamber.

divided into sixteen compartments, flanked by oak pilasters. In these compartments are trophies of muskets, pistols, pikes, and bayonets, ingeniously arranged in stars, chequer-work, circles, and ovals; in the centre of some is Medusa's head, of others Jupiter's thunder, and other devices. The

number of weapons is: 616 muskets, 180 spears, 82 halberds, 791 plug bayonets, 96 pouches, 6 helmets, 4 cuirasses, 2 horse-face fronts, 200 swords, 130 sword-blades, 16 drums, 21 drumsticks, 168 pikes, 629 pistols, and 200 bandoleers.

Over the fireplace are William's arms, cypher, and crown, all carved in walnut-wood. Opposite the fireplace are eighteen halberds for the Yeomen of the Guard, who used to sit here in old days.

The success of Wren's State Apartments, only stimulated him to aim at still further dignifying what was intended to be henceforth the chief residence of the sovereigns of England; and, accordingly, on Monday, October 30th, and again on November 7th, the King was busily engaged at Hampton Court planning further works and improvements, and "attended by the Duke of Shrewsbury, who officiated in his place as Lord Chamberlain," having been induced, though very reluctantly, to accept that office, in succession to Sunderland.[1]

Every sort of amusement, and opportunity for every kind of sport were to be provided in close proximity to the Palace. "Fish ponds and decoys," says Luttrell, "are making at Hampton Court; the deer are to be removed out of that Park (*i.e.* Bushey Park), and trees and shrubs to be planted for a hare warren and pheasants, that there may be always game at hand."[2] The pheasantry, which has now grown into a fine plantation, is in Bushey Park, and its position is shown on the map inserted on page 137. The Fish Ponds are also in Bushey Park, and appear to have been the same as those formed by Cromwell in the Hare-warren.[3]

[1] Luttrell's *Diary* and Grimblot's *Letters of William III.*, vol. ii., p. 374.

[2] *Diary*, Oct. 8th.

[3] See vol. ii., p. 182. Among many other items of carpenter's work "done and performed for his Ma^ts^ service in the Hare-Warren & in Bushey Park" this autumn, occurs one for "650 Roods ½ of posts & Railes in the Great Avenue there, the posts 7 ft. 6 in. long & 4 in. ½ sq^r^; the Cant Raile girt 16 in. w^th^ two large turnpikes in y^e^ same."

For securing an adequate supply of good water for the fountains in the gardens, the Longford River, and drains, and water-courses were cleansed and repaired.[1]

Two days after the King's visit of the 7th, Mr. Anthony Row, who designed the ponds in St. James's Park, and who presumably had been down to Hampton Court to advise the King on the works of a similar nature here, was driving back to London with a certain Mr. Charles May, in May's "calash," when they "were robbed by seven or eight foot-pads, of all their money, watches, snuff-boxes, etc. They broke Mr. Row's head for speaking hastily to them, & threatened to kill him"—a sufficiently vivid instance of the humours of the road in the olden time.[2]

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxv., No. 6; and vol. lxvii., No. 14, Account No. 3.
[2] Luttrell's *Relation.*

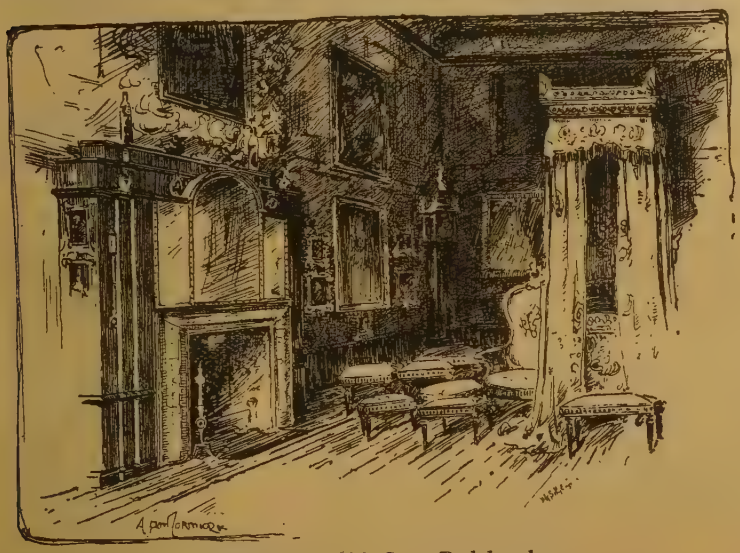
CHAPTER VII.

WILLIAM III. IN HIS NEW PALACE—FURTHER WORKS.

Furniture of King William's Rooms—His State Bedchamber—His Bed—His old Clock and Barometers—His Delft Ware—The King's Dressing Room—His Drawing-Room and Privy Chamber—Beautiful Pair of Fire-Dogs—The King's Visits to Hampton Court—Estimate for further Works—William III.'s Alterations therein—"The Communication Gallery"—The King's Domestic Offices—Rooms in the Upper Storey—Staircases—Lord Albemarle's "Lodgings"—The Haunted Gallery—"Lodgings" for the Great Officers of State—Improvements in the Courts—The Fountain Court—William's Diversions at Hampton Court—Goes out Coursing in the Park—Attacked in Parliament.

IN the meanwhile the furnishing of William III.'s rooms was rapidly proceeded with; and to enable the reader to conjure up before his imagination the King's domestic life at Hampton Court, we will describe the internal appearance and contents of one or two of them. First, we will glance at his Great State Bedchamber, a room 33 feet 9 inches long, 23 feet 7 inches wide, and 30 feet high, of which the ceiling painted by Verrio, and the carvings executed by Gibbons, we have already noticed. His bed, formerly in this room, and now in the Private Dining Room, was a great four-poster, with hangings of crimson velvet, decorated in its four angles with immense plumes. In the corner of

the room, by the bed, stood, and stands to this day, the King's great clock, six feet high from the ground, with two small dials on its face, telling the day of the month and other intervals of time, and surmounted by decorative figures in ormolu. It was made by the celebrated Daniel



King William III.'s State Bedchamber.

Quare, and goes for one year, but though in good repair it is no longer wound up.

In other corners of the room, near the doors, were two curious barometers, one made by Tompion, which still remain in the positions they originally occupied, and between the windows is a fine pier-glass, with a border of cut blue glass, also dating from William's time, and bearing his monogram, W. R., surmounted by a crown, in blue and white engraved glass.

There are, besides, in various rooms, some of the old stools and high-backed chairs which belonged to the suite of furniture in this bedroom, and also several large bowls and jars of blue Delft ware, with the King's arms and monogram painted on them, which served both for use and for ornament. The jars, in which bulbous flowers such as tulips and hyacinths were planted, are especially noteworthy. They stand about four feet high.

The fireplace, with its old cast-iron fireback, its carved oak mantelpiece, its looking-glass, and its shelves, whereon are ranged several pieces of old Delft ware and china, forms another salient feature still remaining unaltered ; and when we restore, in imagination, the damask curtains that hung by the windows, as well as the tapestry of the "History of Joshua," and the eight silver sconces, chased with "The Judgment of Solomon," that formerly decorated the walls, we have a complete and vivid picture of the room as it was when inhabited by William III.

Next to the State Bedchamber is the King's little bedchamber or dressing-room, which we described in a preceding chapter; and beyond is the King's Writing Closet, a small room, 24 feet by 17, likewise fitted with carved oak panelling, and formerly hung with pea-green damask. Its original furniture consisted of little else than the King's writing bureau, and a few chairs and stools. Opposite the windows of this room is a door in the wainscot, leading to a private staircase, the balusters of which are of most beautiful wrought iron. The stairs lead to a suite of rooms on the ground floor, which must have belonged to the King's apartments, and also to a private way into the garden, so that the King could go out unobserved.

On the other side of the State Bedchamber were: The King's Sitting-Room (subsequently called the "Drawing Room"); next to that his Drawing Room (since used as an

"Audience Chamber"); next his Privy Chamber (now known as the "Second Presence Chamber"), and lastly, the Great Presence Chamber, which we shall describe on a future page. All these rooms were furnished in a similar way, with tapestries, with Turkey carpets or oriental matting, with stools, chairs, and settees of crimson and other coloured damask, embroidered in silver and gold, or silk worked with exquisite needlework, with pier-glasses, with marble tables, and with china cabinets. Much of this furniture can still be seen distributed in various rooms; some of which still retain their beautiful chandeliers, one being of silver gilt, another of silver, and a third of elaborately cut glass.

Other ornaments of King William's rooms deserving of special notice were the fire-dogs, of which several sets remain. One pair is particularly beautiful, and was made in 1696-7, probably by Andrew Moore. Each piece is of silver gilt, standing sixteen and a half inches high, having scroll-shaped pedestals, *repoussée* with foliage and festoons of oak leaves and acorns, and surmounted by a boy holding a basket of fruit, while in front of each is a medallion, with W. R. in monogram crowned. They were exhibited at the Special Exhibition of Works of Art on Loan at the South Kensington Museum in 1862.[1]

Magnificent, however, as the furnishing of William III.'s rooms was, it would probably seem meagre if gauged by the ideas of our own day, when ladies cram their rooms as though they were upholsterer's show-rooms or *bric-à-brac* shops—though in appropriateness and taste the fashion of the time of William III. was perhaps not so much wanting.

At last the King's apartments being ready for his recep-

[1] See Chaffers's *Plate*, p. 120; Cripps's *Old English Plate*, 3rd edition, p. 333; and the *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art on Loan at the South Kensington Museum*, 1862, edited by Sir J. C. Robinson, p. 480. They bear four stamps—1. Leopard's head cr.; 2. Lion passant; 3. Date-mark —t for 1696; 4. Maker's mark, M. A. in monogram.

tion, he came down on Friday, Nov. 17th, to stay here for five days,[1] stopping at Richmond on his way, to dine with Mr. Medina, a rich Jew.[2] He had, the day before, opened Parliament; and on his arrival at the Palace, in the evening, he wrote as follows to the Pensionary Heinsius to inform him of the state of affairs.

Hampton Court, Nov. 17th, 27th, 1699.

Parliament opened yesterday. You will see from my speech that I ask nothing for myself; I speak only of their own safety in general terms. Hence one might expect a session that would offer no difficulty; but people here have such a strange temper, that I dare not form any expectation. Opinions are divided as to what is going to be done. But I assure you that nobody is in a condition to judge, or even to form the slightest conjecture about it. We must always say here, like the newspapers, "Time will show." Both houses have adjourned till Friday next.[3]

It was probably during one of these visits of the King's to Hampton Court, that he gave instructions for an estimate to be at once prepared by Talman for further works in some of the rooms not included in Wren's estimate, and not yet fitted or decorated.[4] Talman, accordingly, set to work immediately, and on Nov. 28th submitted his estimate to the Lords of the Treasury. By them it was immediately laid before the King, by whose commands it was forwarded the same day to Sir Christopher and the Board of Works, with their Lordship's directions to report thereon and deliver it back the next morning, "in which short time," said they in their report, "we cannot examine into the quantities at all, but take these as we find them." They made suggestions, however, for abatements in various particulars, which would have reduced the total of £5,514 3*s.* 1*d.* by £606 18*s.*

[1] *London Gazette.*
[2] Luttrell's *Diary.*
[3] Grimblot, vol. ii., p. 379.
[4] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxv., No. 1.

Their report, with the estimate, was then laid before the King, who went through them and noted in the margin which of the alterations suggested by the Board, he wished to stand, and these documents were then handed to "Sir Ch. Wren & the rest of y^e^ princip^ll^ officers of y^e^ workes," with orders for the immediate carrying out of the works.

Talman's original estimate, the report of the Board of Works upon it, and the King's marginal notes thereon, are still preserved in the Record Office, and are exceedingly valuable and interesting authorities in regard to the archæology, not only of Hampton Court, but also of the building and decorative arts in England generally at this time. We have consequently printed them in the Appendix;[1] but here we will not do more than cursorily notice their purport.

The works, which were now undertaken, consisted, in the first place, in the completion of several of the state rooms, which adjoin, if they are not to be considered as forming part of, the King's State Apartments. First among these was the "Communication Gallery," which, as the reader will perceive from the plan prefixed to this volume, forms the west side of Wren's Quadrangle, and connects the King's apartments with the Queen's, and leads towards the Haunted Gallery and the Chapel. The Communication Gallery is 104 feet long by 14 feet wide, and is now occupied by Mantegna's "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," and its decoration, together with the fitting of the "Eating Room"—a small room in the corner between the Communication Gallery and the King's Presence Chamber, and now used by the warders—cost the sum of £679 4*s.* 0*d.* Proportionate sums were estimated for the furnishing of the "King's Backstaires," the "Backstairs to the Communication Gallery," the "King's Wine Cellar"—"required to be done to keep the

[1] Appendix C.

King's wine warm" [cool ?]—and also for the domestic offices of the King's apartments, such as "the King's Side-Board Room," and "the King's Chocolatt Kitchen," which were apparently in the south-east angle of the Palace, with windows abutting on a little court known as "the Chocolate Court."

A large portion of the work included in Talman's estimate was "To be done in all the Lodgings over the Queen's Great Staires, Guard Chamber and Presence Chamber," which are situated on the north side of Wren's Quadrangle; and it is to be noticed that the Queen's State Rooms remained unfinished long after those in the upper storey had been completed,[1] and that, in fact, they do not appear to have been decorated at all, during the lifetime of William III.

Under the same heading was included the finishing of "3 pair of stone staires, and severall Rooms as you go up those stairs," known as the "Organ-Loft Stairs," the "Vestry Stairs," and the "Round Stairs," [2] which last were built in an

[1] The word "story," when applied to a building, is always spelt with an "e" in the old accounts and by old writers; and as long as our present unscientific and ridiculous system of haphazard spelling is maintained, it is as well to follow the old usage for the sake of distinguishing the two terms.

[2] The round stone stairs were in a turret in the corner between the Royal closet to the Chapel and the Queen's Presence Chamber, and a door in the staircase gave access to the "Haunted Gallery." The upper part of the stairs still remains in the upper floor—the lower part has been removed.

The terms, "stairs," "stair case," "pair of stairs," "ballisters," &c., are much confused in common parlance.

A "staircase" is properly only the "case," room or space, that contains the stairs. A "stair" is merely a flight of steps. The term "pair of stairs" has given rise to some discussion, but its obvious explanation is exemplified in nearly every old staircase at Hampton Court. To mount from one storey to another it is necessary, in order that each stair may not be too steep, and to economize space, that two flights of steps should be used, going in reverse directions. To go from one floor to another, therefore, we have to go up "a pair of stairs." The level space, or landing, as it is sometimes called, between one pair of stairs and another, is always designated in old writers a "hall-pace," corrupted into "half-pace." Another useful old English expression is that of "the stair-head," for which

old turret near the south-east corner of the Chapel, and are now partly demolished. The cost of this portion of the work came to £1,670 15*s.* 2*d.*

Other portions of the new buildings mentioned in the same estimate were "Ye Lord Chancellor's and Lord Jersey's Lodgings," the entries as to which seem to indicate that they were in the new Palace, and probably in the top or square window storey.

Then comes "The Finishing of my Lord Albemarle's Kitchen," together with the lodgings of his servants "in the round window storey." The position of Albemarle's apartments cannot be absolutely determined; but as the round window storey exists only on the south and east sides of the new Palace, they must have been somewhere in those quarters.

Albemarle, it will be remembered, was a graceful and accomplished courtier, at this time the King's great favourite. He had been recently created an Earl, and amongst other posts held that of Master of the Horse. It was by his order, accordingly, that there were included in the estimate certain alterations and additions to the horse guard and stables, probably identical with the present barracks, which appear, from the bird's-eye view reproduced in Chapter XII., to have been at that time divided into two, the building

there is no modern English equivalent. To talk, therefore, of a marble staircase, unless the walls are marble, is incorrect; as it is also to use the terms, "on the staircase," "going up the staircase." A similar confusion often arises as to the words "storey," "floor," &c.

"Balusters"—usually pronounced and often spelt "banisters" (though this form of the word is found in no good dictionary)—are properly the small columns of a balustrade, thence used to signify the upright supporters of the "hand-rail." This last word is rarely, if ever, heard now, though it has no synonym, and a misapplication of the word "baluster" or "banister" is the only equivalent.

These useful distinctions are always observed in the earlier writers and the old accounts, and by workmen of the present day; but the progress of "genteel" education is corrupting the usage, and causing the distinctions to be confused.

farthest away from the Palace being assigned to the Horse Guards, and the nearer one probably to a detachment of infantry.

This was not the only part of the older structure, the repair of which was included in Talman's estimate ; for instance, works were to be done "In y^e^ Gallery from y^e^ Queen's Great Staircase to y^e^ old Guard Chamber, in hand that y^e^ King may goe to Chappell," which we identify as "the Haunted Gallery ;"[1] "In y^e^ Anty-Clossett, and Clossett to y^e^ Chappell ;" and "To fitt up part of y^e^ old Lodgings for y^e^ Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord President."

The items of what was to be done in these and other apartments, such as "my Lord Overkirk's (*i.e.*, Auverquerque[2]) Lodgings"—which, it would seem, were the interesting suite of rooms on the south side of the Clock Court, mentioned in our first volume as Cardinal Wolsey's own, and still retaining two of his ceilings—and "Mr. Van Hull's Lodgings," which were perhaps those adjoining the last-mentioned, afford lamentable evidence of the destruction that was going on in the old Tudor work. For all the beautiful old linen-fold oak panelling was to be painted ; and it was proposed to alter the old stone windows, and insert instead sash windows with Crown glass. Fortunately, economy stepped in to preserve a few, at least, of the old Gothic features of the ancient edifice. For the Board of Works reporting—"In the Lodgings next the greenhowse, whether Crowne glass in squares may not serve in the old stone windows, as has been done in other Lodgings near them, and not run into the expence of sashes, w^ch^ cannot well be done this winter season, and may draw a far greater Charge after it, in making all the rest of the old lodgings like them, which will abate £65. 8. 0"—the King noted on the

[1] See vol. i., p. 224.
[2] He was at one time King William's Master of the Horse.

margin, "Noe sash windowes," and the mullions accordingly remain to this day.

In the courts also some alterations were suggested by Talman, and authorized by the King. Until this time, as we have elsewhere noticed, the area of the Court, now called the First or Base Court, was laid down with turf, like a college quadrangle, and thence was called "The Green Court;" and the Second or Clock Court, which was paved with stones as it is at present, was often called "The Fountain Court," on account of the fountain that Queen Elizabeth erected there.[1] The turf in the Green Court was now replaced by the pebble-paving, which still covers its area; and the road through the middle of it from the Great Gate-House to the gateway beneath the Clock Tower was paved with "good square stones that the King's coach may come well into the Fountain Court"—that is, the present Second or Clock Court. This was itself laid with a similar pavement from the Great Hall Stairs to the doorway in the east range opposite, leading to "the Queen's Great Staircase" and the cloisters of Wren's Quadrangle, and also to the Colonnade, which is erected across the south side of the court, and which, as we have said, forms the grand entrance to the King's State Apartments, by giving immediate access to "the King's Great Staircase."

Probably about this same time, also, Queen Elizabeth's fountain was removed from this Court, and henceforward the old name of "Fountain Court" passes away from the second quadrangle of Wolsey's Palace (to which it is no longer applicable) to attach itself to the new quadrangle of William III., which was soon after levelled, planted out with turf and flower beds, and adorned with a large circular basin and fountain;[2] and with four carved pedestals of Portland stone,

[1] See vol. i., pp. 326 and 334.
[2] In the spring of 1700. *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 39.

which still remain, though whether they were designed to carry lamps or statues, is uncertain.

Passing now from the archæological details, which have occupied us in the last few pages, and which to the general reader who is unacquainted with the topography of Hampton Court Palace, must have appeared rather tedious, if indeed he has followed us through them, we return again to William III. His sojourn here, at the end of November 1699, lasted, as we have already stated, but five days as his presence was imperatively needed at Kensington during the session of Parliament, where the animosity of the Tory party against him and his advisers was being shown, not only in the unjust attacks against Lord Somers on account of Captain Kidd's expedition, but also in the bitter controversies that were in agitation, as to the question of the Irish forfeitures. Yet even amid these vexations, his thoughts still wandered to the gardens and parks of Hampton Court, for which he had further designs in contemplation, and with regard to which, as we shall presently see, he was giving detailed directions.

After the House had risen for Christmas, he hastened away as soon as possible, on Tuesday, December 26th, "to divert himself during the holydays."[1] Indeed, he was so impatient to escape from the worry of affairs of State, that he refused an audience to the Comte de Tallard, the ambassador from the King of France, on the ground that he could not be troubled with business at Hampton Court.[2]

His "diversions" consisted in superintending the altera-

[1] Luttrell.

[2] See a letter from the Earl of Manchester, the English ambassador in Paris, to the Earl of Jersey. Grimblot's *Letters of William III.*, vol. ii., p. 389. M. de Tallard had "received orders from his master to endeavour the opening a free trade with England, and 'tis said has already made some venture in relation thereto to the King and Council." See Cole's *Memoirs*, p. 90. Earl of Jersey to the Earl of Manchester, Hampton Court, Dec. 28th, 1699.

tions that were being carried out, and occasionally in having a day's coursing in the Park;[1] and not less in enjoying the repose, and the escape from the unwelcome throng in his London palaces. He had, in truth, no relish for the sort of festivities that in Tudor and in Stuart days would have enlivened this season with one long series of banquets, balls, tilting matches, mummeries, masques, and plays; nor could he, like them, enter with easy good nature into familiar intercourse with his subjects. Indeed, the very smallest social gathering or State ceremonial seemed distasteful to him. It had been arranged that on New Year's day he should receive the congratulations of the Court and the nobility, and that an ode, specially composed for the occasion, should be sung in his honour. Yet even such a simple celebration as this, of a day, which, in the good old times, would have been filled with a succession of sports and pastimes, was, at the last moment, countermanded, and ordered to take place instead on the birthday of the Princess Anne, three days after, when he was to honour her with his presence at dinner and at a ball at St. James's,[2] and when he hoped to discharge two debts of courtesy at once.

The day before the ball he indulged in his favourite sport of "hunting," or, as we should call it now, "coursing," in the Park; and the same day he dined with Arthur Herbert, Earl of Torington, whom he had dismissed from the navy after his defeat off Beachy Head, although the court-martial had acquitted him.[3] At that time the King had refused to see him, although he was one of those who had invited his Majesty into England in 1688, and had commanded the fleet that put into Torbay on the eventful 5th of November. This visit, therefore, no doubt, marked a reconciliation of old friends, and was an act of reparation on William's part.

But he could not afford to remain long in the seclusion of

[1] Luttrell and *London Gazette.* [2] Luttrell. [3] See *ante*, p. 34, *n.*

his country retreat. The temper of the House of Commons had become, since the adjournment, even more outrageous than before. Not content with having exposed the King's excessive grants of the Irish forfeited lands to his foreign favourites, they were now pressing on, with every accompaniment of rancour and animosity, the bill for the resumption of these forfeitures, and especially assailing the grant to the King's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney. On January 5th he, accordingly, returned to town.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXTENSIVE NEW WORKS IN THE GARDENS AND PARKS— DISMISSAL OF LORD SOMERS.

Further Schemes of Improvement—Works in the Great Fountain Garden—"The Great Parterre"—Shifting of the Semicircle of Lime-trees—Two New Divisions in the Fountain Garden—Two "Return Walls"—The Great Broad Walk—Fine shaped Evergreens—A Diana in Brass—The King and the Commons—Meetings of the Privy Council—Hostility to Lord Chancellor Somers—Intrigue against him—What brought about his Dismissal—The King's Attitude—Somers surrenders the Great Seal—Lord Chief Justice Holt declines the Office—Sir Nathan Wright appointed—Foreign Ambassadors received by King William in the Palace—Stringent Penal Law against Catholics—Reception of the Chevalier Giraldi, Envoy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany—The Earl of Albemarle created a Knight of the Garter.

DURING King William's absence in London a new and more extensive scheme for the improvement of the gardens and parks, which had been so often formed and reformed, was taken in hand.

In accordance with the King's directions, Talman on the 19th of December had given in to the Lords of the Treasury a memorial about "Works to be done in the gardens," which were estimated by him to cost, with a few additional works in the Bushey and the House Parks, £10,864.[1] The particulars, however, did not satisfy the

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 12.

Board of Works, to whom they were referred, and abatements were made in the prices, which reduced the total to £8,933 11*s*. The report was laid before the King towards the end of January, and he directed "M^r. Talman to proceed with the work, but to take care that the estimate, as reduced by the Office of Works, be not in any way exceeded."[1]

Amongst the first charges were several relating to the fountains in the Great Fountain Garden, as to which we have already noted[2] that the King gave particular directions; especially the great oval fountain in the centre, the coping of which was to be of Derbyshire marble.

At the same time this central semicircular part of the garden, which was described as "The Great Parterre," was enlarged and extended further into the Park, and afterwards re-made. We have already cited[3] what Defoe tells us of the limes, which form the semicircle in front of the Palace, being removed, "after some of them had been almost thirty years planted in other places, though not far off, and they thrive perfectly well." This statement is confirmed by the testimony of the old accounts, from which we find that £200 was paid for transplanting 400 large lime-trees.[4]

The lime-trees, which form the eastern boundary of the two divisions of gardens, that lie on each side of the "Great Semicircular Parterre," having also been shifted, it was necessary to enclose them on the eastern side, so as to separate them from the Park. Two low "Return Walls," as they are designated, each 742 feet long, were accordingly built, parallel to the line of the east front of the Palace, and at a distance of 210 feet from it, which walls, together with

[1] *Minute Book*, vol. ix., p. 258.
[2] Page 71, and see Appendix A.
[3] See *ante*, p. 20.
[4] Appendix D. *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 12.

their coping of Portland stone and the iron railings surmounting them, cost £3,675.[1]

The wall on the northern side of the garden, opposite the Wilderness, was built on the near side of the little canal, which brings the water from the Longford River to the Great Canal, and which had been made in the time of Charles II.;[2] and a corresponding little canal was now made on the south side, 713 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 4 feet deep, at a cost of £118 15*s*. "To carry on the remaining part of the Terras wall down to the Thames, being 313 feet long" was the next step, and finished the enclosure of this division of the gardens, the cost being £643 5*s*. The wall in question is the low one on the east side of the lower part of the Privy Garden, which, from the plates on the next page and on page 178, is seen to have been triangular in shape, and separate from the rest of the Privy Garden, and which was known at this time as "the Gallery Garden."

The next thing that claims our attention is the formation of the magnificent Broad Walk in front of the East Façade of the Palace, which extends from the Flower-Pot Gate on the highway to Kingston, to the Water Gallery by the riverside, a distance of no less than 2,264 feet, or nearly half a mile in length, its width being 39 feet, which cost £600, and also the turfing of the two grass verges on each side of it. This having been done, things were ready for carrying out the next portion of the work described in the estimate as "More Extraord^{rys} in y^{e} Gardens, the 2 Divisions w^{ch} lye on each side of y^{e} Circular Garden parallel to y^{e} Walk," which consisted in levelling, turfing, gravelling, &c., making the borders ready "for the use of planting y^{e} fine shap'd evergreens in," and planting them all with box.

The appearance of these improvements, when complete,

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] See vol. ii., pp. 205 and 217.

may be judged from the accompanying plate, which is a reduced facsimile of an engraving by Kip, and also from that on page 178.

The works in Bushey Park were likewise pushed forward, and the 1,040 trees in the avenues carefully attended to. In the same document we find an estimate for "a pedestall of Portland Stone for a Diana in brass to stand on, and 4 panells each to be carved with emblems," probably for the fountain previously referred to, which was still in the Privy Garden, and is seen in Sutton Nicholls' engraving, and which was afterwards, as we shall see, removed to the centre of the great basin in Bushey Park, where it now is, and to which it gave the name of the "Diana Fountain."

To revert once more to the current of our narrative. We need not follow the course of events which induced William eventually to give a reluctant consent to the Resumption Bill. The very next day, the 11th of April, 1700, he suddenly prorogued Parliament, in order to prevent the passing of the Commons' address requesting him to remove all foreigners from his counsels, doing so, for the first time since the Revolution, without a speech from the throne. Of the session, which had been so humiliating for him, he gives an account to his old friend Heinsius, in a letter written from Hampton Court on the following day:—

> At last I prorogued Parliament yesterday. It has been in truth the most dismal session I have ever had. The members have separated in great disorder and after many extravagances. Unless one had been present, one could have no notion of their intrigues—one cannot even describe them.[1]

When William wrote this letter he had come down to the Palace only for a day, but, on Friday the 19th,[2] he removed

[1] Grimblot's *Letters of William III.*, vol. ii., pp. 29 and 30, &c.

[2] Luttrell's *Diary*, *Vernon Correspondence*, vol. iii., pp. 29, 30, &c.

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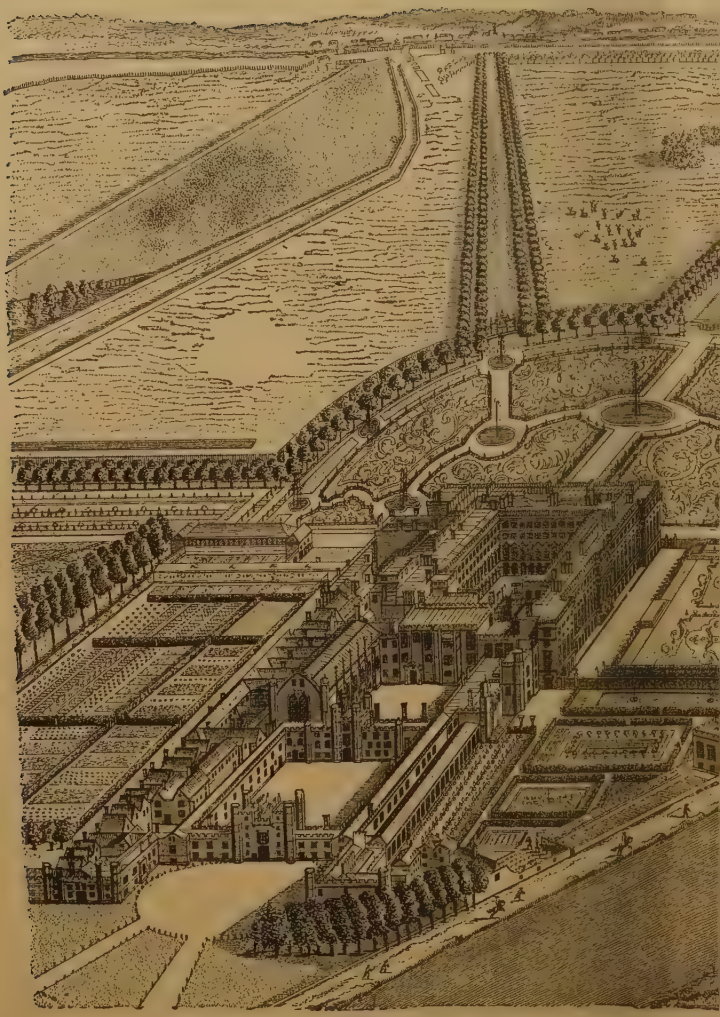
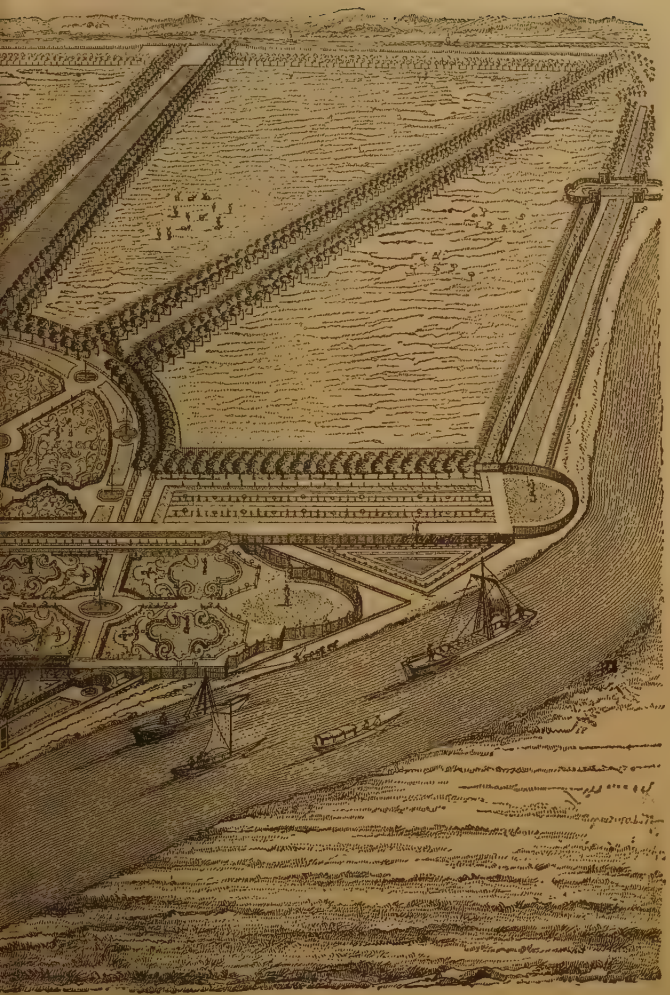


Bird's-eye View of Hampton Court as finished by William I

ncourt



From Kip's "Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Brétagne."

here for a sojourn of a month or six weeks' duration, remaining most of that time in gloomy seclusion.[1] He was, in truth, too much out of humour to show himself in public at all, and he abandoned the intention he had at one time announced of attending the Newmarket Spring Meeting, where all the world had then gone. Nevertheless, some effort was made to exhibit a show of hospitality, and to put an emphasis upon his recent reconciliation with the Princess Anne, by issuing the intelligence that the King "had commanded all the white-staff officers to keep public tables, where the Princess will be twice a week with the ladies, who are to be nobly entertained at his Majesty's cost. The Duke of Shrewsbury will be also there (at Hampton Court) on Saturday to wait upon the King."[2]

On Tuesday,[3] the 23rd of April, a meeting of the Privy Council was held, doubtless in the Great Council Chamber, on the question of reducing some of the horse in England, so that the very meagre allowance of £300,000, voted by Parliament for the army, might suffice at any rate to maintain 7,000 men. And, two days after, the Council met again, to consider what alterations should be made in a list of the justices of the peace, in conformity with the King's gracious answer to the Commons' address in relation thereto, during the recent session of Parliament.[4] The address of the House had urged on his Majesty that "it would much conduce to the service of his Majesty, and the good of the kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates be restored and put in to the Commissions of the Peace and Lieutenancy; and that men of small estates, be neither continued, nor put into the said Commissions."[5] This, though seemingly a fair

[1] He wrote from here on that day to Heinsius.—Grimblot, vol. iii., p. 399, &c.

[2] Luttrell.

[3] Luttrell. The King's letter to the Scots is dated Hampton Court, April 25th. For full text of it see *Complete History of Europe*, vol. 1676-1700.

[4] Luttrell.

[5] Ralph's *History*, vol. ii., p. 843.

and disinterested recommendation, was, in fact, aimed at the ministry, and especially at Lord Chancellor Somers, who, besides the many other unjust charges brought against him, had been accused by his implacable enemies among the Tory party, of making "a partial and undue distribution of the Commissions of the Peace," and of putting into it "not only many persons who dissented from the Church of England, but also men of small fortunes, who, consequently, had an entire dependence on the Court."

And now, at last, their pertinacious hostility to that illustrious man, which had so often been foiled, was about to be crowned with success. At this meeting of the Council, Somers was present as Lord Chancellor for the last time. How his dismissal was exactly brought about has never been made quite clear; and it is much to be regretted that the brilliant narrative of the great Whig panegyrist, Macaulay, should abruptly break off at this point, so that we are deprived of what would, at any rate, have been a strong partisan statement of one side of the question.

By some it is maintained that his removal was entirely due to an intrigue of the Tories, who had recourse to Albemarle, the King's new favourite, in order to imbue him with the idea of "the necessity of changing his ministry, in particular of removing the Lord Somers, who, as he was now considered the head of the Whigs, so his wise counsels, and his modest way of laying them before the King, had gained him a great share of his esteem and confidence, and it was reckoned that the chief strength of the party lay in his credit with the King, and in the prudent methods he took to govern the party."[1] They accordingly insinuated to the King "that all the hard things that had been of late put on him by the Parliament were occasioned by the hatred that was borne to his ministers; and

[1] Burnet, vol. iv., p. 433.

that if he would change hands and employ others"—the right reverend historian here succinctly laying bare the mainspring of party government—"matters might be softened and mended in another parliament."

In confirmation of this view, it may be observed that Lord Dartmouth assures us, in his notes to Burnet, that the King repented it immediately after, having probably been worked up to it by some of his favourites, who were angry with Lord Somers for not opposing the bill about Irish forfeitures. On the other hand, however, Ralph, who carefully reviews the whole evidence, inclines to the belief that, "notwithstanding the moderate and complaisant part which Lord Somers had acted in relation to the King, he had, on so many occasions, preferred the interests of his party to the inclinations of the King, that he could not but partake of his Majesty's displeasure as often as he interposed his credit and service as a screen for them; consequently he was so much the easier shaken by the storm his enemies raised against him."[1]

The exact time, too, when his dismissal was first resolved on by the King has not been quite determined. According to Oldmixon,[2] the King had given him a hint some time even before the prorogation, that "he should be under the necessity of parting with him," and notwithstanding Somers' declaration "that he was resolved, with his Majesty's permission, to keep the great seal in defiance of their malice," William shook his head a little as a sign of his disapproval, and only said, "It must be so." Burnet's narrative, however, which is probably more accurate in this particular, would seem to require that this interview should be assigned to a later period. But that his removal was in contemplation some time before it took effect, is indicated in a letter from Matthew Prior the poet to the Earl of Man-

[1] Ralph's *History*, vol. ii., p. 854. [2] *History*, vol. ii., p. 908.

chester, the English ambassador at Paris, dated April 18th, in which he says, "His Majesty goes to-morrow to Hampton Court and will stay there, they say, these six weeks. At the end of a session of Parliament, you know we always talk of a change of ministry; we do so now, but upon what ground I do not know."[1]

The intrigues of the Tories, Burnet's account of which we have cited above, were doubtless carried on in this Palace, whither Somers himself soon followed his royal master, and where he, of course, had a regular suite of rooms, in virtue of his office, as had all the other great officers of State. The interesting relation given by the historian-Bishop of what passed between them at their interview here substantially agrees with other versions of the same events: "The first time," writes he, "that the Lord Somers had recovered so much health as to come to court,[2] the King told him it seemed necessary for his service that he should part with the seals, and he wished that he would make the delivering up his own act. He excused himself in this. All his friends had pressed him not to offer them, since that seemed to show fear or guilt: so he begged the King's pardon if in this he followed their advice; but he told the King, That whensoever he should send a warrant under his hand commanding him to deliver them up, he would immediately obey it."[3] He did not have to wait long; for that careful and well-informed diarist Narcissus Luttrell, after recording, on Saturday the 27th of April, that Somers had the night before "sent

[1] Cole's *Memoirs*, p. 125.

[2] He was ill the whole time of the debate in the Lords on the Resumption Bill, "his great attendance in the Court of Chancery and the House of Lords, and at the Council Table," having impaired his health; and he was, according to a letter of Prior's, "very sick" on the 10th of April, and did not preside in the House of Lords on the day after, when Parliament was prorogued. See Cole's *Memoirs*, p. 121.

[3] Burnet, vol. iv., p. 434. There is no direct evidence that this interview occurred at Hampton Court; but Vernon's and Luttrell's remarks justify us in assuming that it did.

to Mr. Baron Powis to sit for him this day in the Chancery Court, and is resolved not to resign the great seal till his Majesty command it from him," tells us, a little further on, that on that very same Saturday, at 5 o'clock in the evening, the Earl of Jersey,[1] who had been the mediary between the Tories and the King's favourite, Lord Albemarle, came to the Lord Chancellor's lodgings in Hampton Court Palace, which it would appear from the old bills were situated, at this time, in the north corner of the west front, and by order of his Majesty demanded the great seal of him, which he thereupon delivered.[2]

"Thus," says Burnet, "the Lord Somers was discharged from this great office, which he had held seven years with a high reputation for capacity, integrity, and diligence: he was in all respects the greatest man I had ever known in that post; his being thus removed was much censured by all but those who procured it."[3] In the meantime, they had been so precipitate that they had not even concerted measures for proposing his successor. They fancied that among the leading men on the Bench or at the Bar there would be no difficulty in finding someone who would be only too willing to rise to so tempting a bait. But in this they were disappointed. The King sent, in the first instance, on the Monday following Somers's dismissal, for Lord Chief Justice Holt, on whom he strongly pressed the office. Holt, however, doubtless had no idea of exchanging the great office which he held *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, for the scarcely more exalted or dignified, and certainly more precarious, position of Chancellor; so he modestly declined the offer, saying, "that he

[1] Luttrell, vol. iv., p. 638. White Kennett, following Boyer, says Portland was the person sent by the King; but Luttrell, who is confirmed by Burnet, is doubtless correct.

[2] Lord Stanhope, in his introductory chapter to his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, says that the seals were surrendered on the 17th, which is obviously an error for the 27th.

[3] Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. iv., p. 434, ed. 1823.

had never but one cause in Chancery, and as he lost that he could not think himself qualified for so great a trust."[1] But the King would not acquiesce in his refusal, and told him "he was well satisfied with his abilities; let him consider of it, and return an answer to-morrow (Tuesday) afternoon."

To decline so enticing an office as that of the Chancellorship gives proof of such rare self-command that it was confidently believed in the Palace[2] that Holt would require little pressing to yield to the King's wishes—that his appointment, in fact, would be announced that evening. Holt, nevertheless, persisted in his refusal of the great seal; and on the Council meeting on the Thursday following, "when it was expected that a Lord Keeper would be declared," the matter had to be again deferred.[3]

The King next had recourse, about Friday, 10th of May, to Sir Thomas Trevor, the Attorney General, and during the ensuing week the quidnuncs of the Palace busied themselves with speculating whether he would "have the great seal either to-morrow or Thursday (being Council days) with the title of Lord Keeper."[4] When Thursday, 16th, came, however, it was found that he also had declined the office. Rumour next designated Sergeant Sir Nathan Wright[5] for the dignity. "To him, in fact, a man in whom," says Burnet,[6] "there was nothing equal to the post, much less to him who had filled it," the great seal was delivered at a meeting of the Privy Council at Hampton Court on the evening of Tuesday, the 21st May, 1700.

Mr. Secretary Vernon, who came down specially for the function, was present. "I am just come from Hampton

[1] Lord Campbell in his *Life of Somers*; and Grainger, vol. i., p. 164; see also Luttrell.
[2] Luttrell.
[3] Do.
[4] Do.
[5] All that is known of him, and something more, will be found in Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors.*
[6] *Hist. of His Own Times*, vol. iv.

Court," writes he, the same evening, "where I have seen the seals delivered to M^r^ Sergeant Wright;[1] he has had a great fit of sickness."

While the Court was thus agitated for a full month with Somers's dismissal and the problem of who would be his successor, minor events took place in the Palace, which for the sake of completeness should perhaps be chronicled here.

We have already noticed the idea that William had formed of always receiving foreign ambassadors amid the splendour of his new Palace, where he need not be ashamed, as in London, of the meanness of the abode of the Majesty of England. An opportunity for carrying it into effect was afforded for the first time at this period. For on the 25th of April, the day on which Somers sat at the Council board as Lord Chancellor for the last time, the ambassador of the Emperor and the minister of the King of Portugal came down from town and presented a memorial to his Majesty in relation to the Catholic priests who were then in the kingdom, most of whom were under their protection. This proceeding was caused by the royal proclamation, which had been issued the night before from here, to put in execution the Act of Parliament passed in the recent session "against the growth of Popery." Its provisions were very severe. All Catholic priests were to be banished, and adjudged to perpetual imprisonment if they should again return to England; while "all persons educated in that religion or suspected to be of it, who should succeed to any estate before they were the age of 18," were to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the test as soon as they came to that age, or their estates were to devolve on their next of kin. Burnet, with odious cant, says: "I was

[1] According to Lord Campbell, Wright was knighted in 1696, when called within the bar; but there is apparently no ground for this assertion.

for this bill, notwithstanding my principles of toleration and against all persecution for conscience sake;" and he then proceeds to use the stock arguments of intolerance.

The Act had been prompted by the consternation caused by the "great swarm of priests" who came over to England, and "who appeared in many places with great insolence," after the peace of Ryswick. The right of the foreign ambassadors to have their private chaplains could not, of course, be questioned; but except for acknowledging that privilege, the answer they received does not appear to have been very satisfactory, for a few days after they deemed it expedient to dismiss "all the English, Scotch and Irish priests from their families, and ordered only three masses a day to be said in their chappells, whereas before they used to have five or six."[1]

Another opportunity of displaying the grandeur of the English Versailles to a representative of a foreign sovereign soon after offered itself, on the arrival in London of the Chevalier Giraldi, the envoy extraordinary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was at once informed that his Majesty would receive him at Hampton Court. On the 7th of May, accordingly, he was driven down from town in one of the King's coaches, Sir Charles Cottrell, master of the ceremonies, attending him, and introducing him in public audience to the King.[2]

The presentation took place in William III.'s Presence Chamber, one of the finest rooms in Wren's new State Apartments, which is described further on.[3]

Soon after this, an event took place at the Palace which gave a strong indication of the new influences that were becoming more and more paramount at Court. This was the holding of a chapter of the Order of the Garter, at which nine knight companions were present, for "electing

[1] Luttrell. [2] *London Gazette.* [3] Page 153.

the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Lord President of the Council, and the R^t^ Hon^ble^ Arnold Joost Earl of Albemarle, Master of the Robes to his Majesty, Knights of the Garter in the room of the late Kings of Sweden and Denmark. They were introduced into the chapter and knighted by the sovereign with the sword of State and then severally invested with the George and Garter, the two principal ensigns of the Order, with the usual ceremonies." [1]

The conferring of so distinguished an honour on Albemarle, who was regarded as merely one of the King's foreign favourites, was viewed with very great and general disgust,[2] and several knights absented themselves from the ceremony of investiture, notwithstanding that "to make it go down the better" he had bestowed the Garter at the same time on Lord Pembroke. Prior mentions forcibly how his unalienable attachment to Albemarle was "the cause of his losing many friends, whom to the disgust of the nobility, he created a Knight of the Garter." And Bishop Kennett notices that "many severe reflections were then made on his Majesty for lavishing away a Garter on his favourite." [3]

[1] Luttrell and *London Gazette.*

[2] White Kennett's *History*, vol. iii., p. 782. Oldmixon, vol. ii., p. 209.

[3] The new knights were installed on the 9th of June in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

CHAPTER IX.

KING WILLIAM'S DECLINING HEALTH.

The Second Partition Treaty negotiated—William III. and the Duke of Shrewsbury—The Duke's Ill-Health—His Resignation—The King's Dislike of England—His failing Health—He longs to depart to Holland—His Dining Room—His Diet—Question of the Darien Settlement—Scotch Parliamentary Commissioners at Hampton Court—Dr. Radcliffe's Opinion of his State of Health—Still pining to be off to Holland—Anxiety of his Ministers and Physicians—The Doctors disagree—Violent Altercation about rival Remedies—Pills and other Doses—Appointment of Lords Justices to administer the Government—Prior the Poet and John Locke the Philosopher at the Palace—The Philosopher's Diagnosis of the King's Case—More Recipes, Prescriptions, and Doses—Somers comes to bid him Farewell—Off at last—The Water Gallery taken down—The Banqueting House—The Great Banquet Room—Its Ceiling painted by Verrio—The New Terrace—The Pavilions.

WHILE trivial personal incidents of the sort treated of in our foregoing chapter occupied the attention of the frequenters of the Court, the minds of the King and of his advisers were engrossed with affairs of great and imperial moment. We refer to the negotiations for the second Treaty of Partition, which, belonging as it does to general history, lies outside the purview of this book, but to which some reference must be made, because, as we learn from several letters written by William to Heinsius from this Palace, recounting the progress of the negotiations, two or three interviews of

some importance took place here between himself and Tallard, the French ambassador.[1]

At the same time the mind of William was greatly exercised with a matter of much personal interest to himself. This was the reiterated request of his trusted friend, the Duke of Shrewsbury, to be allowed, in opposition to the King's most earnest entreaties, to resign the office of Lord Chamberlain, which, in the autumn before, he had reluctantly consented to accept, only on the persistent solicitations of his royal master.

Shrewsbury, in truth, had no taste for politics, and was only pining for leisure and freedom from care. "Had I a son," he said, "I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman."[2] His health, besides, was not good. Some years before this he had had an accident while riding, which had inflicted a permanent injury on his chest, and caused him frequently to be attacked with blood-spitting. Even the salubrious air of Hampton Court, whither he had come at the end of April, at the King's express desire, does not seem to have agreed with him.[3] He remained but a few days in the Palace, retiring on Wednesday, May 8th, to Woburn,[4] whence he wrote to Mr. Secretary Vernon, a few days after, saying that he found himself so ill as to be unable to serve his Majesty any longer.

Malicious reports, however, were cast about that his illness was nothing more than an unworthy pretence for the purpose of escaping from the responsibilities of office, and of basely

[1] Grimblot, vol. ii., pp. 407 and 412.

[2] Letter from Rome, June 17th, 1701. *Hardwicke Collection*, vol. ii., p. 440.

[3] Vernon wrote to him on the 10th of May:—"I am very glad you did not stay at Hampton Court, since it agrees not better with you."—Vol. iii., pp. 38, 49-51.

[4] Archdeacon Coxe (*Shrewsbury Correspondence*, p. 616) says that "he suddenly left without seeing the King;" but this is as improbable as it is unsupported by evidence.

deserting his royal master in his difficulties. In relation to this a story is told in a curious "Life of Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury,"[1] that "there were not wanting those that endeavoured to persuade the King that it was so, but the King knew him too well to believe anything of that kind, and surprising him in his room at Hampton Court one morning before he was up, saw by the sheet being all over spit with blood, that it was but too true."

After much correspondence and communication, the King at length consented to accept his resignation;[2] and the Earl of Jersey was appointed Lord Chamberlain in his place on June 24th at Hampton Court.[3]

At one time, early in the spring, the King had announced his intention of not going abroad to Holland at all this year, but of spending the ensuing summer amid the delights of his new palace at Hampton Court.[4] But the events of the past session had not been of a nature to confirm him in his resolve; and he was in no mood to sacrifice his personal desires in any attempt to conciliate such troublesome and refractory subjects, and to forego that annual visit to his native land, which he looked forward to, from the moment he set foot on our shores. To him, in truth, England had always been a foreign country. Even his panegyrist, Macaulay, is constrained to admit that "while he was forced to be with us he was weary of us, pining for his home, counting the hours to the prorogation. As soon as the passing of the last bill of supply had set him at liberty, he turned his back on his English subjects, and hastened to his seat in Guelders, where during some months he might be

[1] Published in 1718, and written "by a gentleman that was privy to the most material passages." The incident is assigned, but certainly erroneously, to the period of the discussion in Parliament on the Partition Treaty.

[2] *Shrewsbury Correspondence*, p. 624, and Vernon, *ut supra*, June 23rd.

[3] Luttrell.

[4] Do., March 8th, and April 13th, Saturday.

free from the annoyance of seeing English faces and hearing English words."[1]

In the first few days of the month of June he had been unwell, Vernon noticing,[2] on the 4th, that he looked pale, and had been a little feverish, which was attributable either to his riding in the sun, or walking about the gardens in the evening without a great coat; and though, on the previous Sunday, he had been to chapel, he did not dine in public on that day.

As often as possible, in fact, William took his meals in private, chiefly using for this purpose the room already mentioned under the names of the "Beauty Room" and "Oak Room," which is on the ground floor, under the "King's Guard Chamber,"[3] and is connected by the Orangery with the King's Private Apartments, in the south-east corner of the Palace. The alcove in this room, which was used for the service of the King's table, is still in existence. While on this topic we may mention a very curious memorandum as to his diet, drawn up while he was at Hampton Court in the summer of the year after the period of which we are now treating, by the doctors attending on him:[4] "He eat most of the first course, viz., soup made of pulse, pot herbs, and stewed meat. Of the second service he used to eat but little; but he eat a great deal of fruit, though never, or very seldom, between meals. . . . For five or six months of the year, both his wine and his beer was always cooled in ice; and the last was always bottled. His breakfast was only a dish of chocolate, without any water in it."

In the meanwhile his ill-health increased his desire to leave England; and all his private letters at this time abound

[1] *History*, chap. xxiii.
[2] *Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 69.
[3] Defoe's *Tour through Great Britain*.
[4] *Complete History of Europe*, published in 1702, p. 52, June 25th, 1701.

in expressions of impatience at being so long detained by business. "What vexes me in particular," says he, in a letter to Heinsius, from Hampton Court, "is that this affair [the question of the Darien settlement] retards my departure for Holland, for which I long more than ever. I shall become ill, if I have to remain here longer: I have been indisposed for some days, but am better now." This was on Friday, the 7th of June. On the Sunday after, the 9th, Lords Argyle and Annandale waited on him to lay formally before him the views of the Scotch lords on the question of the Darien colony, Macaulay's graphic review of which everybody is familiar with. And on the Tuesday (the 11th) the commissioners of the Scotch Lower House came down to Hampton Court to present their address, in which they set forth that, to their[1] "unspeakable grief, no return had been given to the unanimous address of the last session of Parliament, expressing the national concern of our East India Company;" that parliament had been abruptly adjourned while a resolution was being moved that their colony at Darien was a legal settlement; and that they "therefore desire the Parliament may sitt the 20th instant, and continue so long as necessary to redress the grievances of the nation, and asserting their just rights, as well at home as at their colony at Darien."

At the presenting of the address a curious incident took place through their mistaking "the manner of doing it." "It was their intention to have read it to the King; but as soon as they had kissed his hand they presented it; and the King not opening the paper, one of them made a motion as if they would have had it again to read it, but the King kept it fast, and said he would read and consider it, and so passed on to the Treasury, leaving the deputies to look upon one another as persons that found themselves in an error."[2]

[1] Luttrell.

[2] *Vernon Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 77.

All these matters kept on postponing the King's departure; and Vernon, in the letter, part of which we have just cited, after remarking that he much doubts whether Scotland is quiet enough to allow of the King's leaving for Holland, proceeds:—

> His heart seems fixed upon the journey. I believe it may be of consequence to his health, one way or another, whether he goes or stays. In all appearance the King is now well again: they tell me he eat a better meal last night than he has done for some time before, and slept well after it. But there runs a whisper, that Dr. Radcliffe observing him during his late indisposition, came out with it to some of his confidants, that he thought the King could not live three months to an end. He has been mistaken in many of his conjectures, and it is of infinite consequence that he should be in this. I believe a journey to Loo would entirely expel this distemper, but what condition we shall be in, I know not.

This letter is dated the 11th of June. That he should have eaten a better meal the night before is perhaps surprising, when we find that Dr. Radcliffe had given him on the morning of the 10th a dose consisting of "ale impregnated with the leaves of ground ivy, fir tops, hart's tongue, and wild carrot seed"![1]

Shortly after this William recurs again to his wished-for departure[2]: "I trust, by the favour of Heaven, that I shall be able to start from here in the beginning of next month. I cannot express to you how ardently I long to breathe the air of Holland." And again, the week after: "I trust, by the blessing of Heaven, to leave here this day fortnight, unless something unforeseen occurs, which I trust will not be the case, for nobody can long more ardently than I do for my return to Holland."

His impatience to be off was not unnatural, for the state of his health was once again occasioning much anxiety

[1] *Complete History of Europe*, published in 1702, p. 52.

[2] Letter of June 14th. Grimblot, vol. ii., p. 416.

to his physicians and ministers. On the day Jersey was appointed Lord Chamberlain, he was present with Albemarle at a consultation held between the physicians, Sir Thomas Millington, Dr. Radcliffe, and Dr. Laurence concerning the King's health.

Unfortunately, however, the first two doctors agreed in nothing—neither as to the disease, nor as to the remedies. Dr. Radcliffe thought the swelling in the King's leg was little less than dropsy, and advised "purging and asses' milk." Millington, on the other hand, said both such remedies were contrary to the King's constitution, and he was for the King's taking garlic, "as it might be prepared and qualified." "That," said Radcliffe, "will destroy such weak lungs as the King's." "Weak lungs!" cried Millington in answer, "why his lungs are the soundest part about him!" Then they fell out as to his Majesty's journey. Radcliffe maintained that he would be the worse for going to sea, while Millington asserted that he would be all the better for going to Loo—opinions which might certainly be consistent. So far they could differ without serious altercation. But when Millington happened to say "that Dr. Hatton ought to be called to the consultation, he being the King's first physician, and long acquainted with his constitution, Radcliffe, as if he were frightened at the name, flung out of the room in a passion; and so they broke up, resolving nothing."[1]

A few days after, however, they seem to have so far agreed as to let Radcliffe have his way; for we find it duly recorded, that on the night of Wednesday, June 26th, 1700, King William III. took a pill that the doctors gave him,"[2] and we learn also from another source[3] that it was

[1] Vernon, vol. iii., p. 97.
[2] Do., p. 100.
[3] *History of Europe* for 1702, p. 52, where an elaborate history of the King's illness, with the doctors' report on his case, is given.

composed of "Pillula Stomachicæcum cum gummis, the volatile Salt of Hartshorn, and the Syrup of violets." At the same time they prescribed "20 drops of the tincture of the Salt of Tartar to be taken every day; and the juice of 30 Hog-lice at six o'clock at night." We are surprised to learn that "the next day he looked very well and was cheerfull."[1] But the success of a rival's remedy could carry no conviction to the minds of the other worthy medicos, and Laurence, who sided with Millington, announced that he had determined not to relinquish his own prescription of garlic.

In the meanwhile the near approach of the day of departure probably reacted favourably on William's constitution and spirits, especially when he found he would be able to escape a few days sooner than he had anticipated. Before going, however, he had to make arrangements for the carrying on of the government during his sojourn abroad. Accordingly we read a notice in the "London Gazette," dated "Hampton Court, Thursday, June 27th, 1700," announcing the appointment of Lords Justices to administer the government during his absence.

On the same day, John Locke, the philosopher, was sent for, and had an audience of the King, when he gave in his resignation of one of the Commissionerships at the Board of Trade and Plantations, while Matthew Prior, the poet, who had been Portland's secretary, succeeded to the vacancy thus caused. Prior had been hanging about the Palace, waiting for what might turn up, and amusing himself, for some time previous to this. His occupations, indeed, must have been of a peculiarly interesting nature, for Manchester, writing from Paris, rallies him on the subject, and hints that his diversions at Hampton Court were more to his satisfaction than any of the delights even of the "gay French capital."[2]

[1] Vernon, *ubi supra.*

[2] Prior's *Own Times*, p. 179.

At the same time, Locke seems to have been asked, as a scientific man, to take a diagnosis of the King's condition, and he was able so far to endorse Millington's opinion, as to state that, in his view, "if the King had a dropsy, he would not have so fresh a colour." Thus fortified with the philosopher's pronouncement, Millington and Laurence proceeded to treat his Majesty after their own fashion, and accordingly on the 23rd he was ordered "2 grains of Scammony sulphurated, with 26 grains of the Stomachic pills, to be taken at night, going to bed." That their recipes were not without an effect of some sort is clear from Vernon's account of an interview he had with the King a few days after.[1] He says: "I was at Hampton Court this morning, and the King seeming a little heavy, I asked him 'if he were out of order?' He said, 'he should be very well, if they would leave off giving him remedies. He had taken something that had put his stomach out of order.' I wished him at Loo, that he might be a little eased of the cares and chagrins he met with here. To that he answered, that 'he should grow like the Duke of Shrewsbury, and never be at quiet for thinking of what may be troublesome and vexatious hereafter.'"

But the hour of his escape both from England, and from the antagonistic remedies of his physicians, had now arrived. Next day, being Wednesday, July 3rd, he held a grand council at the Palace, which was attended by the Lords Justices, who came to bid him farewell. The same day, also, Somers, who had absented himself from Court since his dismissal, came to kiss his Majesty's hand, and wish him a good voyage. "He came," Vernon tells us,[2] "a little before dinner, and went into the bedchamber, while the King and Princess [Anne] were there, who dined together. He stayed till the King rose from table,

[1] July 2nd. Vernon, vol. iii., p. 105.

[2] *Ubi supra*, p. 107.

and kissed his hand with some others. The King asked him a few questions, whether he came from London and the like. I made my bow to his Lordship as others did, but exchanged no words with him."

Up to the last moment, however, the doctors would not relax their hold on his Majesty. That same night a consultation was held and they prescribed a glyster. "I hope," says Vernon, "the King will be better, when he is out of their hands at Loo."[1]

Next day, at six o'clock in the morning, he left for Margate on his way to Holland,[2] taking with him only Albemarle and Romney, and Blathwayte, his Secretary at War.

During the King's absence from England this summer the work of improvement at Hampton Court was again actively renewed—the remaking of the ground which lies between the south front of the Palace and the river, and which had hitherto escaped the reformer's hand, being now undertaken by his Majesty's orders. The scheme, as decided on in consultation with Sir Christopher Wren, Talman, and Wise, involved, in the first place, the demolition of the old Water Gallery, which by its situation impaired the appearance of the new Palace, and obstructed the view of the river from the State Apartments. This work was soon accomplished, the Board of Works reporting, on the 25th of September, 1700, that it had already been taken down, and all the useful material preserved, as the King directed, and "used in places where it hath saved money in lieu of new materialls."[3]

They add that "the little tower in the Glass-case Garden, which the King signified Lord Ranelagh should be

[1] Vernon, vol. iii., p. 107.
[2] *London Gazette*, Luttrell, &c.
[3] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxx., No. 33a; and see *Beauties of London and Middlesex.*

augmented by adding a Room and a closett, is now covering in." It would seem they here point to an oblong building—standing partly at the edge of the old Pond Garden, partly in a small garden of its own, and partly on the towing-path—which is known as the Banqueting House, and which was certainly enlarged and fitted up and decorated about this time. Its position is shown in the reproduction of Kip's bird's-eye view of the Palace and Gardens on page 108.

That there was a tower, or a building of some sort here, prior to William III.'s time, is evident from the fact that traces of Tudor brickwork are discernible in the structure, and that not long ago, during some repairs, several bones and the remains of an old fireplace were found in the basement. The old Surveys frequently speak of "towers" and "bowers," and other similar outhouses, existing here close to the river. As finished by Sir Christopher Wren, the house consisted of one storey only, supported on brick groining, and reached by a flight of stone steps from the garden. It was divided into one large room, a smaller one, and two ante-rooms or lobbies. The basement has since been altered by the addition of a kitchen and offices; in doing which some of the groining has been removed, and the walls much weakened thereby. In one of the arches of this groining is a sort of passage about six feet high, where there is an old Tudor doorway, with a very ancient oak door.

The Banquet Room, the principal room of the building, is 32 feet long, 21 feet broad, and 18 feet high. Its ceiling and walls are richly painted and gilt, and its whole appearance is very gorgeous. It has seven large sash windows: three looking south over the river and "those meads for ever crowned with flowers," towards Claremont; two looking east into the gardens and down the river to Thames Ditton; and two others looking up the river, and showing

William III. in the Banquet Room

e Banqueting House, built in 1700.

the southern wing of the Palace, and the bridge. Nothing could be more charming than the site and the views it affords. The spot is sufficiently quiet and secluded, and with the river almost surrounding the house, and ever gay with sailing and rowing boats—with the picturesque landscapes in the distance, and the cool breezes floating from the water on all sides—it is almost the perfection of a summer residence. It shows the taste and good sense of our ancestors, who had buildings of this sort in which to dine or sup in hot weather, in a sort of *al fresco* style. Here William III. doubtless spent many of his evenings, in the last year of his reign, smoking and drinking with Portland or Albemarle.

The ceiling, painted, it would seem, by Verrio, represents Minerva as the Goddess of Wisdom, surrounded by allegorical figures of Astronomy, Music, Poetry, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. Sculpture holds a bust of William III. crowned with laurel. There are also figures emblematic of the winds and zephyrs, and one or two others of doubtful meaning. The borders represent scroll-work, richly coloured and gilt, amidst which appears the monogram W. R. The cornice is in a like style, and in the four corners of the room clusters of arms and armour are shown. Altogether the ceiling is well painted, and one of Verrio's best.

The walls are also painted, the ground being a pinkish grey. Over the fireplace is a fresco in chiaroscuro, showing Jupiter and Juno in the clouds, and above it are two cupids holding a wreath of laurel over William III.'s device. On either side of this are two vases of flowers, too well painted to be the work of Verrio; they are perhaps from the pencil of Baptiste.

The chimney-piece is of white marble, and over it is fixed an old looking-glass ornamented with a border of

white and blue cut-glass. On the walls by the fireplace are painted: to the right, Bacchus and Ariadne with the crown of stars above her; and to the left, a satyr pursuing a nymph, who appeals to Diana for protection. In the corners of the room are eight small designs in chiaroscuro, representing Apollo and Daphne, and other mythological legends; and between the windows are four medallions gracefully executed in chiaroscuro on a blue ground. Beneath them were formerly some life-sized figures, but they were painted out a few years ago. The doors and shutters are oak, painted in the same pinkish grey as the rest of the room, the carving and moulding being gilt.

The other rooms demand little notice. They are all panelled with deep-toned Norway oak, finely moulded and carved; and in one of them there is a pretty old-fashioned corner fireplace.

In the same report it is stated that "the foundations of the New Terrace were in prosecution of a design for a building sent to Loo, and approved by the King, but were not intended to be carried higher than the level of the terrace this year;" and that it "consists wholly of the old bricks of the Water Gallery, with little more expense than the carrying off elsewhere would have cost."

Here we have the inception of the Great Terrace along the river side, extending from the end of the Broad Walk, alongside the river, for a distance of 2,300 feet, or nearly half a mile, to the Bowling Green and Pavilions at the end of it. Switzer, the writer on gardening, whom we have so often quoted, pronounces it "the noblest work of that kind in Europe." A reference to Kip's bird's-eye view on page 108 will show its position and appearance.

The Pavilions were four small rectangular buildings—originally it would seem of only one storey—in the four corners

of the Bowling Green. They served apparently very much the same purpose as the Banqueting House, and were the ordinary resorts of the inhabitants of the Palace in summer afternoons and evenings, when the time was beguiled with bowls, cards, coffee-drinking, gossipping, and flirting. A reproduction of an old view of them is given in Chapter XIV., and they may be made out in the bird's-eye view by Kip.

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM III. AND FOREIGN POLITICS.

Return of King William—Congratulations of the Lord Mayor and Corporation—Visit from the Duke of Shrewsbury—Death of the King of Spain—The Duc d'Anjou acknowledged as his Successor by Louis XIV.—Extraordinary Popular Indifference in England—William changes his Ministers—Parliament dissolved—The Court goes into Mourning—Further Improvements in the Privy Garden, the Parks, and the Great Fountain Garden—Bills and Debts for the Works—Comte de Tallard's abrupt Visit to King William—His Audience and cold Reception—His difficult Position—Count Wratislaw, Ambassador from the Emperor, at Hampton Court—More Royal Physickings—Extraordinary Prescriptions—The Meeting of the New Parliament—Proposed Impeachment of the Whig Lords—An Address to his Majesty—Letter from the Duc d'Anjou—Cabinet Council at Hampton Court—The King's Anger against Rochester—William in bad Health again—Further Works in the Privy Gardens—Departure of the King for Holland—His continued Interest in the Works at Hampton Court—Accumulation of Debt.

ON King William's return from Holland in the autumn of the year 1700, he came straight back to the Palace, arriving on the night of Sunday, October the 20th;[1] and the next day the State Apartments were thronged with the nobility and gentry, who came down from town to offer him their congratulations on his safe return. On Tuesday he had a meeting of the Privy Council; but the inconvenience of the

[1] Cole's *Memoirs*, p. 233.

two hour's drive down from London and back, several times a week, was found so great, that he determined they should sit at Kensington, "for their greater ease as being nearer London, whither he should come up on every council-day."[1]

On Wednesday the 23rd, "the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex went to wait on His Majesty at Hampton Court, to know when he would please to be attended by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to congratulate His Majesty on his safe return; and they are to attend His Majesty to-morrow."[2] This they did; and the Recorder, in the usual manner, "in the name of the City congratulated His Majesty's Health, and Safe Return; which his Majesty was pleased to accept very graciously, and conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon Robert Beachcroft, one of the Sheriffs. After which they were, by His Majesty's command, entertained with a very splendid dinner, and returned to the City with great satisfaction."[3]

William had not been back long, when he received a visit from the Duke of Shrewsbury, who came to bid him farewell before retiring abroad, thoroughly disgusted with the failure of his efforts to restore harmony in the administration. The interview took place on the 28th of October, and the King and his trusted friend remained in close conference for a very long time that evening. No circumstantial record exists of what passed between them; but we may suppose that Shrewsbury, who had been narrowly watching the current of affairs during William's absence, unfolded to him his view of the political situation, and tendered his advice. His correspondence offers indications "of his having made up his mind to the absolute necessity of calling the House of Hanover to the succession, and of announcing that fact openly."[4]

[1] Luttrell; *London Gazette.* [2] Luttrell. [3] *London Gazette.*
[4] Shrewsbury's *Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 143.

But, in the meanwhile, an event had taken place which for a time overshadowed all questions of domestic politics, and which was destined to have the most far-reaching and tremendous consequences. On the evening of the 1st of November William received at Hampton Court "the terrible news,"[1] as he designated it, of the death of the King of Spain, which, occurring as it did in the midst of the negotiations for the Second Partition Treaty, plunged the whole of Europe in a ferment. Three days after, William received further intelligence here, which burst upon him like a thunderbolt. This was the news that Louis XIV., in violation of his solemnly pledged word, had accepted the will made by the late King of Spain, in favour of the Duke of Anjou, bequeathing to him the whole of the vast dominions, in the Old World and the New, subject to the Spanish Crown. Of his indignation and dismay, no words but his own could convey any idea. Writing to Heinsius the next day, the 5th of November, from Hampton Court, he says:—"I never relied much on the engagements with France; but I must confess I did not think they would, on this occasion, have broken, in the face of the whole world, a solemn treaty, before it was well accomplished. The motives alleged in the annexed memorial are so shameful, that I cannot conceive how they can have the effrontery to produce such a paper. We must confess we are dupes; but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man."[2]

But what caused him even still greater vexation and anxiety was the mood in which the English people received the news. We need not dwell here on the strange aberration of popular feeling, too often paralleled in modern times, which, fanned by interested party politicians, looked upon

[1] Grimblot, vol. ii., p. 453.
[2] Do., vol. ii., p. 477, and Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 393.

the Partition Treaty as more obnoxious to English interests than the King of Spain's will. William had to deal with that deplorable indifference to foreign politics, and with one of those strange infatuations, which have so often foiled the calculations of our astutest statesmen. "The blindness of the people of England," as the King himself said, was indeed incredible. "They are all quiet here,"[1] he goes on to say, "and trouble their thoughts little with the great change in the affairs of the world. It seems as if it were a punishment from heaven that people here are so little sensible to what passes without the island, though we ought to have the same interests and anxieties as those upon the Continent."[2] His only course now was to try and "engage the English people," as he put it, "by a prudent conduct, by degrees, and without their perceiving it." It was as much in pursuit of this object as from any other cause, that he proceeded forthwith to seek for popular support by dismissing all the Whigs and calling the Tories to his counsels.

Accordingly, on Sunday, December the 1st, there assisted at one of the Cabinet Councils (which still continued to be held at Hampton Court, though the meetings of the full Privy Council took place at Kensington), Lord Godolphin, who had not been to Court since his dismissal from office four years before, on account of his implication in Fenwick's plot, whence "it was concluded he would be sworn First Commissioner of the Treasury again."[3] To this office he was, in fact, appointed; and he attended the King at Hampton Court again on the following Tuesday with Lord

[1] From Hampton Court, dated Nov. 23rd, N.S., *i.e.*, 12th, O.S.—*Hardwicke Papers*, vol. ii., p. 397.

[2] On the 19th of November "Agi Mustapha Aga, Envoy from the Bashaw and Government of Tripoli, had an audience of His Majesty (at Hampton Court), being introduced by Sir Charles Cottrell, Master of the Ceremonies." —*London Gazette.*

[3] Luttrell.

Rochester, who was regarded as the chief of the Tory party, rather from his connection with the Princess Anne than on account of his abilities. On the 12th Rochester was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and other appointments quickly followed. At the same time the King did not entirely forget his old friends, for Charles Montague, his late Chancellor of the Exchequer, was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Halifax.[1]

On the 19th the King in Council at Hampton Court, in deference to the wishes of his new advisers, dissolved Parliament, and ordered writs at once to be issued for a new one.

Although the King of Spain's death had taken place at the end of October, it was full six weeks after before the English Court went into mourning. This delay was due to a difficult question of etiquette, which was started as soon as the news reached England. The point was this, whether his Majesty was to wait for an official notification of the event before going into mourning, and if so, from whom? It was thought that the question would be best determined by the usage of the French Court, which was regarded as the arbiter in such fine-drawn punctilios, and Vernon was accordingly instructed to refer the matter to the Earl of Manchester, our ambassador at Paris.[2] What answer was received we cannot say; but the death being notified to the King on December 1st, an order was issued on Sunday the 8th, at Hampton Court, signifying his Majesty's pleasure, "that the whole Court should go into mourning for three months."[3]

Having carried our narrative so far, we will here turn aside a while to notice what progress was being made with the

[1] On Dec. 4th.—Ralph, vol. ii., p. 890.
[2] Cole's *Memoirs*, p. 249; Grimblot, vol. ii., p. 471.
[3] *London Gazette;* Luttrell.

Map of the Royal Domain of Hampton Court, showing the Avenues in the Park as laid out by William III.

works in the parks and gardens of Hampton Court, and first with the improvement in the ground to the south of the Palace.

As we noted a few pages back, the remaking of this part of the gardens had already been begun in the summer, by the pulling down of the Water Gallery. This obstruction to the view from the new State Apartments being now removed, Wise, the gardener, submitted an estimate on November 13th, 1700, for levelling the old "Mount"—a raised mound of earth, with a winding path to the summit, which had been made in the reign of Henry VIII., as we saw in our first volume,[1] but which now, besides being thought an interference with the view, seemed to be out of place among the formal walks and parterres of the gardens of William of Orange. Accordingly an expenditure of some £500 was at once incurred in "removeing the great Body of Earth, which lies above the fountain in the Privey Garden, being 10,000 solid yards,"[2] and in "taking up the severall Lines of Hornbeam, Cypruss and the flowering shrubs, which are in the Lines and Quarters of the Privey Garden, carrying them to the Wilderness and securing them in earth," while the borders were being prepared for them.

In the meantime the raising of the new terrace by the river side to the Bowling Green was continued, and, as an extension of the improvements in the same direction, a proposal of Wise's was authorized for: "The Planting 4 Rows of Lime Trees from the Straite Line of the Bowling Green to the Thames, alsoe 4 more lines from the end of these lines, to the Circle, which takes the Diagonal walke in the House Parke, and will require 360 Trees."[3] A reference to the upper right-hand corner of Kip's bird's-eye view on page 108, will show what Wise referred to.

[1] Vol. i., p. 207.

[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxi., Nos. 33 and 35.

[3] Do., vol. lxxi., No. 35.

Another improvement effected at the same time was the making of "the Rushy Pond at the lower of the House Park into a regular form"—the pond referred to apparently being that near the gate at Hampton Wick.

In Bushey Park no further works of importance were entered upon; though there is an item in the accounts for this autumn which, in view of a recent agitation for further access to Bushey Park, may have a certain local interest: "For taking away the bank, and sinking a new ditch to prevent people coming over the pales; to make a new footway through the Park from Hampton Wick—£4 10*s*."

This is the footway through the Harewarren, which was closed by Oliver Cromwell; opened again by Charles II.; closed again, as we shall see in a subsequent page,[1] by Lord Halifax, in the reign of George II., when ranger of Bushey Park, about 1754; and at last reopened for ever, through the triumphant vindication of the right of way by Timothy Bennett, a native of Hampton Wick.

As to the Great Fountain Garden, and the two new divisions that had just been formed and laid out, they appear to have been at last perfected according to the King's fancy; and therefore we do not find record of any further expenditure on them. The interior of the King's apartments also was probably by this time pretty well completed; though the imperfections of the records, through several of the estimates and bills being wanting, do not admit of our presenting an exhaustive account of what was done.

For the works above enumerated, and in respect of a debt of about £5,000, as yet undischarged, for former works, an allowance of £150 a week was to be continued until the debt was paid off; and afterwards £100 a week for these works.[2] An "abstract of bills passed for the gardens att

[1] *Post*, Chapter XIX.
[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxi., No. 35, and vol. lxxiii., No. 33.

Hampton Court, from the last of December, 1699, to the last of December, 1700," included several which may be noticed here. One was for £1,315, still due to John Tijou, the smith, whose exquisite ironwork we have described on a former page.[1] Other sums were—to John Nost, carver, £304; to Richard Osgood,[2] figure caster, £171; to Thomas Highmore, painter, £173.

Thomas Highmore was serjeant-painter to William III., uncle of Joseph Highmore, the portrait painter, and great-uncle of Anthony Highmore, who drew some views of Hampton Court in the reign of George II. He was also master of Sir James Thornhill, who succeeded him as serjeant-painter in 1719-20, and who painted a ceiling in the State Apartments here in 1715, as we shall see later.

Besides these there are very large amounts entered as due to purveyors, masons, carpenters, bricklayers, ironmongers, plumbers, and other workmen, who had to wait more than ten years before they could get their money.

In the meanwhile, the Comte de Tallard, the French ambassador, whom the reader will remember as visiting William in the foregoing spring, and who signed with Portland and Jersey the Second Partition Treaty, which his master had so flagrantly just set at naught, arrived in London on Monday, December 8th. That day or the next, he called on Vernon to know when he might present to King William a letter he had brought from his own sovereign, Louis XIV. Vernon accordingly came down to the Palace on Tuesday, 10th, to arrange an audience for him, which was fixed for next day at 11 o'clock.[3] But much to the secretary's surprise, just as he was about to get into his coach, he met Tallard alighting at the great gate at the first court. He stopped him and told him that the audience

[1] See p. 55. [2] See *post*, p. 202. [3] Cole, pp. 268, 270.

was appointed for the morrow at eleven. The ambassador answered that he would be at Hampton Court at that hour; but that being there he thought "he might go and *make his leg* to the King." To this Vernon replied that "that needed no advice of his, and that he would do therein as he thought fit." Thereupon the comte "went into his coach to change his perriwig;" and Vernon went away to London. "Whether," observes he, "his hastening to Hampton Court be according to rule or not, I don't pretend to judge; your Excellency," added he to Manchester, "will know best, being so well versed in the practice of that court." In answer to this Manchester simply observed, "His coming so abruptly to Hampton Court, before he had an answer from you, shews the nature of the man."[1]

Vernon afterwards heard that Tallard came into the bedchamber before the King went to the Treasury; the King stopped a little to speak to him about his journey, and so went on to the Treasury, and the ambassador returned to London. This must have been the occasion of which it is related,[2] that when Tallard came to wait on the King, he gazed abstractedly out of the window, and merely observed "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, le temps est bien changé;" by which expression he meant not only the alteration of the weather, but chiefly "the change of time and circumstances of things." Next day the count repaired again to Hampton Court to have his appointed audience. His reception was now very different from what it had been in the spring. William would scarcely deign to notice him,[3] and the interview was very brief. "He delivered his letter to the King, saying very little at the presenting of it, and then stood

[1] Cole, p. 272.

[2] Boyer's *History of William III.*, p. 466.

[3] Luttrell, vol. iv., p. 717, who gives the date right here, but who must have been misinformed when he states that the letter was given at the Tuesday audience.

silent. The King said something about his own inclinations to preserve the peace of Europe, in manifesting whereof, he might perhaps have advanced too far, but he was very desirous that all the world should be satisfied of his dispositions towards the public tranquillity. The ambassador's answer to this was to this effect: 'That his master had the same inclinations to peace, and thought he had given a proof of it by accepting the King of Spain's will.' His Majesty seemed not to understand how that could be made out, and the ambassador proceeded no further; but only made a particular compliment on his own account, how much he valued the honour of returning hither again, to assure his Majesty of his profound respects, and so took his leave."[1] The interview lasted but four minutes, and "he returned without the usual notice taken of him by the nobility, who attended his Majesty."[2]

The King had not opened the letter while the ambassador was with him, it not being usual to do so. But reading it afterwards, he found it was "there said of the ambassador, 'Qu'il expliquera particulièrement les justes raisons qui nous ont obligés de préférer le repos public à nos interets particuliers, en acceptant comme nous avons fait, le testament du feu Roy Catholique en faveur du Roy nostre petit fils.' And therefore, his Majesty seemed a little surprised that he did not enlarge further at his audience, or desire some other time for doing so."[3] Vernon, whose account we have been quoting, and who, though he was not present himself, got it on good authority, visited Tallard that evening in town. The count told him he had been to Hampton Court at the time appointed, but that he was a very short time with the King; and he added: "Qu'il avoit rendu la lettre et s'estoit acquité de sa commission."

[1] Cole, p. 271. [2] Luttrell, who again confuses the dates. [3] Cole, p. 271.

He had indeed a difficult part to play, and Prior, writing the same day[1] to Manchester, remarks: "Count Tallard makes a foolish figure here; I do not know as yet what he says to the King on this occasion, but everybody observes his Excellency to be very melancholy and desponding, and one may judge he has reason to be so, as to his own particular concerning the part he has been made to act, however his country in general may approve their monarch's breach of truth and treaty."

Vernon did not see him for some days after, and as he avoided visiting Hampton Court after his cold reception by the King, the secretary suspected that he had "taken something amiss," and he judged from his "reserved humour," that he had written some complaint to his own Court. But of this Manchester could find no confirmation; indeed, the reverse seems to have been the fact, for he appears to have been at variance with his royal master in regard to the policy pursued, and "had like to have undone himself [at Paris], by talking too freely of the treaty, and how they ought to be kept to it."[2] At any rate, whatever constraint there was, it soon passed off, and the count endeavoured to put the best face on matters by coming to Court once a week.

A very different reception was accorded to the Ambassador Extraordinary of the Emperor, Count Wratislaw, who arrived in England on Saturday, December 28th, as the bearer of important confidences, and who was received in a special private audience at Hampton Court by the King two days after, and treated with the greatest honour and respect.[3] The Emperor, who was by no means disposed to abandon his pretensions to the Spanish succession and the fief of Milan, had instructed him to discuss the renewal and extension of the confederacy for carrying out

[1] Cole, p. 269. Dec. 10th, O.S. [2] Do., p. 278.
[3] Luttrell's *Relation of State Affairs.*

the provisions of the Treaty. But William, fettered as he was by the position of political parties, and the state of public opinion in England, was powerless to adopt these measures, which he thought vital to the security of Europe.

He was, indeed, harassed on all sides, and his worries began again to affect his health. "His Majesty is not very well," writes Vernon, "his appetite abates, and his legs are more swelled; but it chiefly arises from his great thoughtfulness in relation to the public. Physicians have been consulted and have prescribed remedies."[1]

What these were we learn from the curious record of the royal physickings which we have already cited. The night of his return to Hampton Court, he was given "half a dram of the cream of tartar (to be taken twice a day); a ptisane (to be taken at pleasure) of the clarified decoction of barley, after a warm infusion of Eryngo roots condited, sal prunellæ, and the spirit of black cherries." At the same time they recommended "the frequent use of tablets, made of the species de Althæa, with Sal prunellæ, Loaf-sugar, and Mucilage of Gum Tragacanth." But a few days after the treatment was changed to "Nynsichtius' elixir vitrioli and Spa water;" and these were followed in quick succession, during the next month or so, by gentian, centaury, tartar vitriolated, salt of wormwood, salt of steel, balsamic syrup, Epsom salts in chicken broth, crabs' eyes, steel prepared with sulphur, hog's lice, chalybeate pills, elder flowers, after which recourse was again had to the old prescriptions.

While undergoing this stringent course of dosing, William remained in seclusion at Hampton Court, absorbed in his labour of inditing instructions to his agents abroad, or receiving despatches from them. The only incident to break the routine, of which we find record, is his giving an

[1] To the Earl of Manchester, Dec. 30th, O.S.—Cole, p. 279.

audience to Monsieur Leyoncroua,[1] the Resident from Sweden, who came to notify to his Majesty "the late signal victory, obtained by the King his master, over the Czar of Muscovy's army before Narva."

But the anxious moment of the meeting of the new House of Commons was now drawing nigh; and on the 29th of January the King left Hampton Court for Kensington for the opening of Parliament, which took place on February 6th. But his Majesty soon found that, in sacrificing his own predilections to political exigencies, and "by dismissing the Whigs, because they could no longer do his business in Parliament, he had done enough to disoblige them, but not enough to gain the Tories." Now it was that the faults of the royal character, on which the Tories had so long laid stress, suddenly became apparent to the Whigs, who "began to complain of the King's conduct, of his minding affairs so little, of his being so much out of the kingdom, and of his ill choice of favourites;"[2] while the ultra-Tories, being resolved not to be put off by the King calling to his counsels only the moderate men of the party, never abated for a moment in their attacks upon the King and Court. So sensible was he of having failed to conciliate either faction, that he remarked to Halifax, "All the difference he knew between the two parties was, that the Tories would cut his throat in the morning, and the Whigs in the afternoon."[3]

But the events of the interesting session that had now begun, in which it will be remembered the Act of Settlement was passed, have little bearing on the history of Hampton Court. Nevertheless, we may observe that the excitement then convulsing the country, on the question of the Partition

[1] On Jan. 14th, 1701.—See *London Gazette.*
[2] Stanhope's *History*, and Tindal, vol. iii., p. 275.
[3] Ralph, vol. ii., p. 908.

Treaty, soon found vent in the impeachment of Somers, Halifax, Oxford, Portland, and other Whigs, and in an address of the House of Commons to the King, that he should "banish them from his counsels and presence for ever."

The House of Lords, however, though not backward themselves to strike at the King's late ministers, resented the independent action of the Commons; and while the Report on the Address was still in debate in the Lower House, they carried a resolution for an address to his Majesty, praying that he "should be pleased not to pass any censure upon them [the Whig Lords] until they are tried upon the said impeachments, and judgment be given according to the usage of Parliament and the Laws of the Land."[1] This address was entrusted to the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Romney, who brought it down to the Palace on the 16th of April, where the King was then staying for a few days, and presented it to him, in their state robes, with white staves. His Majesty did not vouchsafe them any answer—a want of courtesy which so much exercised their lordships, that a committee was appointed by the House, to search the journals, to see whether there was any precedent for such conduct on the part of the King.

The attack on his late ministers, however, was not the only matter engaging William's care; for on April 13th, 1701, three days previous to the presentation of the Lords' address, he had received at Hampton Court a solemn letter from the Duke of Anjou, the new King of Spain, giving formal notice of his arrival at Madrid, and of his having taken possession of the Spanish throne, and concluding with assurances of friendship, and of his desire to live on good terms with England. It was read that night at a

[1] Ralph's *History*, vol. ii., p. 944; and Luttrell.

special Cabinet Council summoned for the purpose. Of what passed on this interesting occasion there is no precise record; but Burnet, who was probably at the Palace, tells us that there was some short debate concerning the course to be pursued: "The Earl of Rochester saw the King seemed distrustful of him, and reserved to him in that matter, and was highly offended at it: he and the rest of the new ministry pressed the King to own the King of Spain, and to answer his letter; and since the Dutch had done it, it seemed reasonable that the King should likewise do it: they prevailed at last, but with much difficulty: the thing was kept secret, and was not communicated to the Privy Council, or to the two houses, nor did the King speak of it to any of the foreign ministers; the 'Paris Gazette' gave the world the first notice of it." [1]

But though the King's far-seeing statesmanship had to give way to the party exigencies of his ministers, and he was reluctantly compelled to yield to their insistence, it was their thwarting him on this and similar points of policy at this period, that first determined him to disengage himself from them, as soon as an occasion offered. Rochester's imperiousness and assuming conduct, not only in what he said, but especially in his manner of saying it, were highly offensive to William. It is apparent that the curious incident related by Lord Dartmouth in his "Notes" took place at Hampton Court at this time, and possibly on the night of the very Cabinet Council just referred to. "Lord Jersey," says he, "told me, he (*i.e.* Rochester) was with him once in the King's closet, where he took the liberty to tell the King 'that princes must not only hear good advice but *must* take it.' After he was gone, the King stamped about the room, and repeated the word 'must' several times. At last, turn-

[1] *History of His Own Times*, vol. iv., p. 482.

ing to Lord Jersey, he said: 'If I had ordered him to have been thrown out of the window, he must have gone; I do not see how he could have hindered it.'"

While the two Houses, instead of minding the business and affairs of the country, were continuing their mutual wranglings over all the various stages of the impeachments, William could not indulge in any prolonged sojourn at his favourite home. He made arrangements, however, to reside here chiefly, coming up to Kensington every week from Wednesday to Friday, "unless extraordinary occasions required his coming at other times."[1] He was the more induced to adopt this plan on account of the injurious effects which he fancied the atmosphere of London had on his health. His cough and the swelling in his legs were growing troublesome again, and defied all the remedies his physicians could devise. "I hope," observes Vernon, "he will have more benefit from the air and exercise of Hampton Court than from the Doctor's prescriptions, which he is not apt to be a regular observer of"[2]—a fact not to be marvelled at, when we find that they were now resorting to a new set of remedies, and prescribing for him "four spoonfuls a day of the juices of garden scurvy-grass, water-cresses, Brooke-lime and oranges, with Rhenish wine and wormwood-water compound, with some drops of the Tincture of Steel."[3]

Hampton Court, therefore, became his head-quarters for the rest of the session; and here, on June 1st, he so far overcame a long-standing personal repugnance as to appoint "the Right Honourable John Earl of Marlborough, General of the Foot and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Holland,"[4] naming him soon after ambassador

[1] Cole, p. 370. He held another Cabinet Council here on April 27th.
[2] Do., p. 376. [3] *Complete History*, &c. [4] *London Gazette*.

extraordinary and plenipotentiary to carry on the negotiations at the Hague for the treaties, which were to be made with foreign powers against France.[1]

But the magnitude of the danger now threatening the liberties of Europe did not prevent William from devoting time and attention to his works at Hampton Court. On the 16th of June he approved a plan that had been made by Wise, in accordance with his directions, for further remodelling the Privy Gardens.[2] The chief features of the new design were the raising of the two side terraces, and the sinking of the ground in between them, to afford a better view of the Thames from the windows of the State Rooms,[3] thus completing the improvement of the ground on the south of the Palace, which had been begun the year before by the removal of the Water Gallery and the old "Mount." Defoe[4] mentions that this portion of the ground "received some alterations since the taking down the Water Gallery; but not the part immediately next the lodgings," and in "Magna Britannia" we are told that "the Privy Garden was sunk ten feet to give a view of the Thames from the State apartments;" and we must allow that, like all the improvements carried out in the gardens at this time, it was an alteration ingeniously designed and tastefully carried out, which adds much to their attractiveness. The whole cost of moving the soil, and remaking the beds and borders, amounted to £1,426.[5]

About the same time the Pond Garden was "laid out into small enclosures, surrounded by tall hedges, to break the violence of the winds, and render them proper for the

[1] Duke of Marlborough's Papers, *Eighth Report of the Historical Commission*, part i., p. 12, June 26th, 1701.

[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxv., No. 6.

[3] Defoe's *Tour* and *Magna Britannia*, vol. iii., p. 9.

[4] *Tour through Great Britain.*

[5] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxv., No. 6. See Appendix P.

reception of such exotic plants in summer, as were moved out of the conservatories during the season." [1]

The prorogation of Parliament took place on Tuesday, 24th of June; and on the ensuing Saturday, the 28th, William held a council here, when Lords Justices were appointed to carry on the government during his absence; and Mr. Northey accepted the post of Attorney-General, resolving "to lay aside all other practice but that of His Majesty" [2]—a resolve that, unfortunately, has not been imitated by any of his successors.

The same day the Palace was thronged by a "great number of the gentry and nobility," and by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, who came from London in a body, doubtless by water in their picturesque barges, to take leave of the King. His Majesty seems to have had a good notion of how best to ingratiate himself with the Corporation, for we learn from a newspaper of the time that "they were nobly treated with a plentiful dinner." [3]

Early on the following Monday, the 30th of June, 1701, King William left Hampton Court for Holland.

During the King's absence abroad, the works in the Privy Garden, the estimate for which we have cited above, were begun, while several other minor works, which had been estimated for early in the spring by Mr. Phil. Ryley, for Bushey Park, were now also put in hand. The particulars chiefly related to the building of "2 new Lodges at the Ends of the Aveniew in Jockey Park" (*i.e.* Bushey Park).

The King was meanwhile in Holland, paying what was destined to be his last visit to his native land, and stimulating the coalition against France. Yet even amid the whirl of continental politics, his thoughts often recurred to the trim walks and fountains of his favourite home on the banks of

[1] Defoe's *Tour*, &c., ed. 1742.
[2] Luttrell's *Diary*.
[3] *The English Post*, June 30th, 1701.

the Thames. From Loo he instructed his secretary, Mr. Wm. Blathwayt, to write to Mr. Lowndes, on the 6th of September (N. S.), directing that "the Lords of the Treasury should appoint what was needful for the works at Hampton Court, under the direction of Mr. Talman, as he expected them to be despatched before his return." [1] It was necessary for him to spur on the great obstructive office of the English Government, for the works had come to a standstill by the accumulation of debt, there being at the end of July a sum of £11,000 still unpaid for works in the house, and another of £4,313 8*s.* 1*d.* for works in the gardens, which swallowed up all the money allowed for these works.[2]

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxvi., No. 13.
[2] Do., vol. lxxv., No. 54.

CHAPTER XI.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF WILLIAM III.

William unexpectedly arrives from Holland—Enthusiastic Rejoicings—Passionate Revulsion of National Feeling—Addresses and Deputations—Receptions in the King's Great Presence Chamber—Address from the University of Cambridge—The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London—King William's Health—Question as to a Dissolution of Parliament—William undecided—Proclamation issued dissolving Parliament—William remains in retirement at Hampton Court—His failing Health—Continues to hunt violently—Disregards his Physician's Advice—Diary of his Illness—Extraordinary Concoctions prescribed—His swollen Legs—Leaves Hampton Court for London—Comes to Hunt in the Park—Falls from his Horse—His own Version of the Accident—Diversities in the Historical Accounts—His Death.

FROM Loo William III. went on to Breda, and from there to the Hague,[1] whence, after being detained for three weeks by adverse winds, he sailed on November 3rd for England, landing at Margate unexpectedly early the following morning, the 4th, the anniversary of his own birth, and of his landing in 1688 at Torbay. From the coast he came post-haste to Hampton Court, avoiding the fatigue of a progress through London,[2] which the enfeebled state of his health could not have suffered him to bear, and reached the Palace on the

[1] From the Hague, on Nov. 1st (N.S.), he signified the appointment of Mr. Jackson as master mason at Hampton Court, in the place of Mr. Oliver, deceased.

[2] Luttrell; *London Gazette.*

evening of the 5th, about 8 o'clock, "much tired with his journey, so that he went immediately to bed."[1] That very same night he signed a commission for the proroguing of Parliament.[2]

His arrival is chronicled thus in the "London Gazette":—

> Nov. 5th. The King came yesterday from Margate to Sittingbourne where His Majesty lay last night; His Majesty dined this day at the Earl of Romney's at Greenwich,[3] and came this evening to Hampton Court. Yesterday was celebrated His Majesty's birthday; and the Public Joy on this occasion being very much encreased by the news of His Majesty's good health, and safe Arrival, the same was expressed in an extraordinary manner by the Ringing of Bells, Bonfires and Illuminations, in the cities of London and Westminster. And this day was observed the anniversary of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Treason, with the usual solemnity.[4]

No moment, in truth, could have been more aptly chosen for his return. During his absence an event had occurred of incalculable importance in the history of the world. James II. had died, and, in a moment of ill-considered bravado, Louis XIV. had acknowledged the Pretender as King of England. This was just the one thing needed to revive William's fast vanishing popularity, for it touched the English nation in what has ever been its most sensitive point—its jealous dislike of the interference of foreigners in its domestic affairs. The effect was, in truth, instantaneous. All the pride of the English nature, all its enthusiasm for liberty and its impatience of foreign influence, all its pent-up loyalty and patriotism were exalted to the highest pitch. The voice of disaffection was hushed, while the whole nation

[1] *Complete History of Europe* for 1702, p. 66, and *Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 419.

[2] Ralph's *History*.

[3] Macaulay, in the last unrevised chapter of his history, says, "He slept at *Greenwich*," which is no doubt an oversight.

[4] See also the *Flying Post*.

rallied with one accord round the throne. It was a striking instance of those revulsions of English national feeling, which have so often perplexed and bewildered foreign politicians, and disturbed their deepest calculations.

Even while William was yet abroad, addresses had been drawn up by public bodies in every part of the kingdom, declaring their devotion to his crown and person, and their high resentment at the indignity offered to him and the English people. And now, on the day after his arrival, even at Hampton Court, the King could find no refuge from the importunate loyalty of his subjects. Deputations from cities, counties, universities, besieged him all day.[1]

He doubtless received them in his new Presence Chamber, which is one of the finest of Wren's stately suite of rooms, and which has undergone but little change in appearance since that day. The throne, or chair of state, by which he stood, was placed underneath the canopy of crimson damask, which still remains fixed to the wall in its original position, with its valance richly embroidered in silver and gold, with the rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, harp, and the cypher W. R., all crowned. The same emblems were embroidered on the rest of the furniture, which was of crimson damask, *en suite;* and they were embossed on the beautiful silver chandelier which still hangs from the lofty coved ceiling. Opposite the throne there was, as there is to-day, the large allegorical picture of William, which had just been finished by Kneller,[2] and which is engraved as a frontispiece to this volume, and in which he is represented landing in England after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, in armour, on a white horse, trampling on the emblems of war, attended by Mercury,

[1] *London Gazette*, and *Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii., p. 420.

[2] It is 18 ft. by 15 ft., and is dated 1701. For a detailed account of this picture see the author's *Historical Catalogue.*

Peace, and Plenty, and welcomed to British soil by Neptune. The rich dark panels of Norway oak, relieved by delicately-carved festoons of fruit and flowers in limewood from the incomparable hand of Gibbons, and lightened by intermediate hangings of rich tapestry, formed an admirable background for the assembled Court. We can imagine the ceaseless throng passing up Verrio's resplendent staircase, making their way through the stately Guard Chamber, and surveying with curiosity all the magnificence of the new Palace, of which so much had been reported, and then approaching the feeble but high-spirited King, who stood to receive them pale, haggard, and coughing.

Among the numerous addresses that the King received on the day after his arrival was one presented by "His Grace the Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, attended by the Vice-Chancellor, and several of the masters and scholars, who came to town upon this occasion," on behalf of that ancient seat of learning. It will serve here as a specimen of similar documents presented to him within the next three or four weeks, all of which were printed at length in the "London Gazette":—

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars, of Your University of *Cambridge*, having a just detestation of the late Indignity offered to Your Sacred Majesty by the *French* King, in setting up a pretended Prince of *Wales*, as King of these Realms; humbly crave Leave, on this occasion, to assure your Majesty, that from our Hearts we own and assert Your most Just and Rightful Title to the Crowns of these Kingdoms, and will contribute our utmost to its Defence with all the Cheerfulness and Affection that becomes our Duty to the best of Kings, and our Gratitude to our Happy Deliverer.

We can never forget the once deplorable state of this Church and Nation, under the Fatal Influence of Popish and Arbitrary Counsels, when all our Prayers and Addresses to Heaven were for

your Majesty's speedy arrival, to rescue us from the dangers of Idolatry and Slavery. And we are daily sensible, that we entirely owe the Safety of our Religion and Liberties to Your Auspicious Government. Neither can we doubt, but God will still Support and Enable You, not only to maintain Your own Crown and Dignity at home, but to defend Your injured Neighbours abroad, and secure the threatened Liberty of *Europe.*

May the same good Providence that has hitherto protected You from so many secret and open Attempts, preserve and prolong Your Sacred Life, assist and prosper You in all Your Great and Good Designs, direct Your Subjects in Parliament to the wisest and best Counsels, and ever continue these Nations under the Happy Establishment of a Protestant Succession.

The "Mayor, Bayliffs and Commonalty of the King's Ancient City and Corporation of Winchester," the "Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriffs, and four and twenty Commons of the City of York, assembled in Council at the Guildhall of the said City," and similar bodies, and deputations representing Grand Juries and Justices of the Peace, from upwards of a hundred towns in England, were equally vehement in the expression of their loyalty and patriotism.

The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London attended in a manner even more formal, on the 7th of November, when "Mr. Recorder, in the name of the City, made a speech, containing the highest expressions of their Zeal and Affection to his Majesty's Royal Person and Government, and assurances of their utmost assistance against all Enemies of His Majesty's Crown and Dignity whatever; which His Majesty received very graciously." [1]

It is not surprising that the King was, as he wrote to Heinsius, "quite exhausted by the labour of hearing harangues and returning answers," [2] and that he was reported to look a little pale." [3] Yet so great was his energy, and so

[1] *London Gazette.* [2] Macaulay.
[3] *Correspondence of H. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, ubi supra.*

anxious was he to see how the works in the grounds of the Palace were getting on, that on the first day on which he received addresses, he spent two hours, ill as he was, in the cold November afternoon, walking about the gardens; and afterwards dined in public. The swelling in his leg was, at this time, better, "by the help of the medicines administered to him by Dr. Bidloe, whom his Majesty brought over with him from Holland:"[1] and what those remedies were we learn from the diary of his health, kept without intermission from this time to the day of his death. He was, by the orders of Doctors Bidloe, Blackmore, and Laurence, to take "Forty drops of the Tincture of the Salt of Tartar, morning and evening in a draught of medicinal wine." Whether or not such a dose is to be found in the modern pharmacopœia, it was credited with a good result, for "soon after the swelling of his legs fell so much that on the 9th he expressed himself to this effect: 'I did not think that one could recover so soon; I rode out yesterday on horseback, and eat lustily.'" His Majesty dined that day in public with the Prince and Princess of Denmark, and despatched (though it was Sunday) a great deal of business in council and elsewhere. At night, however, his legs were more swelled again: "As I take it," said his Majesty, "this is occasioned by standing so long."

The fervent demonstrations of loyalty and regard which we have just noticed, afforded the very opportunity which the King was in want of, to shake off his Tory ministers, and to relieve himself of the Tory House of Commons, which had thwarted and affronted him in so many ways. On the evening of his arrival here, he had, as we have seen, prepared the way by signing a commission for proroguing Parliament till the 13th; but before that day arrived, the question of a dissolution was discussed. Fortu-

[1] Luttrell.

nately this topic is one of those which Macaulay had treated of, in a separate and completed fragment of the last unfinished chapter of his history; and we may therefore have recourse to his graphic pages for an account of what occurred:—"The whole kingdom, meanwhile, was looking anxiously to Hampton Court. Most of the ministers were assembled there. The most eminent men of the party, which was out of power, had repaired thither, to pay their duty to their sovereign, and to congratulate him on his safe return. It was remarked that Somers and Halifax, so malignantly persecuted a few months before by the House of Commons, were received with such marks of esteem and kindness as William was little in the habit of vouchsafing to his English courtiers. The lower ranks of both factions were violently agitated. The Whigs, lately vanquished and dispirited, were full of hope and ardour; the Tories, lately triumphant and secure, were exasperated and alarmed. Both Whigs and Tories waited with intense anxiety for the decision of one momentous and pressing question:—Would there be a dissolution? On the 7th of November the King propounded that question to his Privy Council. It was rumoured, and is highly probable, that Jersey, Wright, and Hedges advised him to keep the existing parliament. But they were not men whose opinion was likely to have much weight with him; and Rochester, whose opinion might have had some weight, had set out to take possession of his vice-royalty just before the death of James, and was still at Dublin."[1]

According to Boyer, two illustrious peers represented to his Majesty "the necessity of calling a new Parliament," urging "that the present one would never do His Majesty's business, nor the nation's." The King, it is asserted, showed great reluctance to follow this advice, but the friends of the impeached lords removed his Majesty's scruples.

[1] Macaulay's *History*.

"William, at any rate, had, as he owned to Heinsius, some difficulty in making up his mind. He had no doubt that a general election would cause delay; and delay might cause much mischief. After balancing these considerations during some hours, he determined to dissolve."

Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 11th of November, 1701, the King announced his intention in council; and the following day a proclamation dissolving Parliament, and calling together a new one, to meet on the 30th of December, was issued from Hampton Court at eleven o'clock at night,[1] in these terms :—

William R.

Whereas Our Loving Subjects have Universally, by their Loyal Addresses, Expressed their Resentment of the Injustice and Indignity offered to Us and Our People, by the late Proceedings of the French King, in taking upon him to own and Declare the Pretended Prince of Wales to be King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and have thereby also, in the most Dutiful manner, Expressed their Affection to Our Person and Government, and their steady Resolution at this time to do all things, which can be desired from good English men and Protestants; We have Received the same with great Satisfaction, and have thought it Reasonable, in this Extraordinary Juncture, to give Our Subjects the Opportunity of Choosing such Persons to Represent them in Parliament, as they may judge most likely to bring to Effect their Just and Pious Purposes, and in Order thereto to dissolve this present Parliament.

While the country was passing through the turmoil of a general election, William remained quietly at Hampton Court, anxiously watched and tended by his intimate friends—the staunch and ever-faithful Portland and the filial and loving Albemarle, who now both perceived, only too clearly, that the health of their beloved master, which

[1] Luttrell; *London Gazette.*

had been so long failing, was at last about entirely to break down. Every symptom, in truth, plainly indicated that his end was fast drawing nigh. And though it was necessary in the then state of affairs to keep facts of this sort secret, and practise a sort of pious deception on the world, lest the mere news of his indisposition should inspirit the enemies of the liberties of Europe, William himself could not be deceived as to his real condition. While talking one day, about this time, "of the successes of Charles XII. of Sweden in the North against the Poles and Saxons; and of Prince Eugene in Italy against the French, he fetched a sort of languishing sigh, and said, 'It is a fine thing to be a young man!'" And it is recorded that while walking in intimate converse with Portland one day this winter, "in his garden at Hampton Court, he declared 'that he found himself so weak that he did not expect to live another summer.' But he charged him at the same time 'to say nothing of it till he was dead.'"[1] Yet his undaunted spirit, "fretting the pigmy body to decay," continued manfully to struggle on against the weakness and disease that were wasting his already emaciated frame. Not only would he abate nothing of the labours of his cabinet, where he was busy framing fresh combinations to curb the restless ambition of the French King, but he absolutely refused to forego his favourite exercises, and occasionally, in the Bushey and House Parks, "took the divertisement of hunting attended by a great number of the nobility,"[2] though when he returned he had "to be carried up the steps of the palace."[3]

The "hunting" was either that unsportsmanlike and cruel diversion of coursing, or stag-hunting, of both of which he

[1] Boyer's *History of William III.*, vol. iii.,; and White Kennett's *History*, vol. iii., p. 826; and *The Royal Diary*, 1705, p. 87.

[2] Luttrell.

[3] Letter of Tallard to Louis XIV. —Grimblot, vol. i., p. 352.

gives an account in a letter to Portland: "I am hunting the hare every day in the Park with your hounds and mine. The rabbits are almost all killed, and their burrows will soon be stopped up. The day before yesterday I took a stag to forest with the Prince of Denmark's pack, and had a pretty good run, as far as this villanous country will permit."[1]

This exercise, indeed, he had always regarded as essential to his health, and when remonstrated with by Dr. Bidloe for not taking more rest, he answered: "Every one tells me that I do myself an injury by hunting hard; but if I do not follow violent exercises, the freedom of my respiration is much impair'd, and thereupon my feet swell more than at other times. Faint exercises do not avail me; but you'll see, that as soon as I have hunted hard this swelling will abate."[2]

His physician's advice to use "Warm Bags of the Powder of Cummin-Seed, Mint, Roses and Lavender to be applied to his leg" was as little regarded. He used them only twice, saying, "This breaks my rest, and I must sleep: I had rather have swelled legs than not sleep." After that, when the doctor was advising him to go to bed betimes, to be regular in his diet, and so on, his Majesty made answer to this effect: "At this rate I must always have a doctor to tend me. I'll do what I have a mind to. I am very well acquainted with my own constitution. All the doctors would have me take hot things, and lead a sedentary life: but they are mistaken. Every one that is above 30 or 40 years ought to be his own physician. From my infancy I have all along lov'd shooting, and have oftentimes been wet up to the knees, after which I always fed heartily, without shifting myself, and then slept in a chair, being very tired. Now my legs being

[1] Grimblot, vol. i., p. 327.
[2] *Complete History of Europe* for 1701 and 1702, p. 63.

always cold, I believe that has occasioned the swelling of my feet; but so long as I eat well, I am of the opinion, 'twill do me no great harm."

He had made this protest against the course of treatment recommended by his physicians, some two or three years previous to the period, which we have now reached; and though his condition had long passed the stage, when he could follow his own inclination with impunity, nevertheless he still persisted in defying the doctor's advice. How troublesome a patient they found him, is plainly demonstrated by the subjoined extracts, from the journal of his illness, beginning with the day on which he dissolved Parliament.[1]

Nov. 11th. His physicians advised him to eat more moderately; but without regarding their remonstrances he eat more than ordinary both at noon and night; and when he went to bed was very sleepy, but his legs were much swelled. The 12th being much refresh'd with sleeping, he took a gentle purge. The 14th his legs were in a tolerable condition and he breath'd freely. The 16th he slept in a chair for a long while and had no appetite. The 17th he was better and went a shooting. The 18th Dr Hutton and Dr Blackmore being called to Court by my Lord Chamberlain, found his Majesty's legs a little thicker than ordinary, and joined with Dr Bidloe in the following Prescription:—

Take of the Extract of Rhubarb, a scruple; Resin of Jalap, 6 grains; Tartar vitriolated, 5 grains; with a sufficient quantity of Balsamick Syrup, make pills to be taken early in the morning.

Exhibit twice a day 20 drops of the Tincture of sassafras, extracted with the tincture of salt of Tartar. Repeat the Pills made of the Volatil Salt of Amber, Extract of Gentian, etc.

Take of the Roots of Florentine Orris and Tormentil, the Tops of Southernwood, Roman wormwood, Rosemary Flowers, Pomegranate-flowers, Leaves of Marjoram and Thyme, Olibanum and Benjamin, of each a sufficient quantity. Make a fumigation for His Majesty's legs.[2]

[1] The dates are here altered to the old style.
[2] *Complete History*, &c., *ut supra.*

Whether modern science would recognize these extraordinary prescriptions as efficacious, we must leave the faculty to determine; though we certainly find it stated that "upon the use of the above mentioned remedies, His Majesty recovered apace, and on November 25th (O. S.) spoke to this purpose: 'I find myself very well, I have eat with a good appetite, and my legs are fallen in some measure.'"

During the remainder of the month his case still continued to cause incessant and increasing anxiety. His breathing grew more difficult; he was attacked with headaches and shivering fits, and his spirits sank. But what troubled him most was the state of his legs, which he feared was owing to dropsy, and caused him much inconvenience. "My legs are always swelled," said he to Dr. Bidloe; "can't that swelling be removed? For if it reaches above my knees, I shall walk like a sprained hare; and if it goes further, I doubt I shall not be able to go a step." On that the doctor proposed "a sweating of his legs in a stove;" but his Majesty replied, "How can that succeed? 'Twill heat me; besides that, no force can make me sweat. I have often been told that if I could sweat I was cured. But as soon as I take a sudorifick medicine, I become thirsty, and then I cannot sleep, and I am oppressed in my breathing." But Bidloe explained that the stove would be so contrived as to affect only his legs. It was accordingly made; and the King, after using it once or twice, declared that it did him great benefit.

But the imperative call of duty soon obliged him to exchange the repose and seclusion of Hampton Court for the less congenial air of Kensington, in order that he might be at hand to open Parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 30th of December. The night of Monday, the 22nd of December, 1701, accordingly, was the last that he ever

passed beneath the roof of his beautiful and cherished abode on the banks of the Thames.[1]

The remove to the neighbourhood of foggy and smoky London was not calculated to improve his condition; but his spirit never quailed before his increasing infirmities. With a view as much to reassure the public mind in regard to his condition, as to relax his mind from the cares of state, he made it his custom, soon after his arrival at Kensington, to come down once a week, on Saturday, to hunt in the park at Hampton Court. In accordance with this plan, on Saturday, the 21st of February,[2] though he had suffered from an attack of giddiness in the head that very morning, and though his body was more infirm and his legs were more swollen than usual,[3] he set out for a day's stag-hunting. The account of what followed, is best told in what purports to be the King's own words:[4]—"I was riding in the park at noon,[5] and while I endeavoured to make the horse change his walking into a gallop, he fell upon his knees. Upon that I meant to raise him with the bridle, but he fell forward to one side, and so I fell with my right shoulder upon the ground. 'Tis a strange thing, for it happened upon a smooth level ground."[6]

It would appear from this narrative that the King was not aware that his horse had stumbled on a mole-hill, and it is strange that this fact is only mentioned, as we shall find, in one contemporary historical account.

[1] So it would appear from Luttrell; but Vernon on Jan. 9th, 1702, talks of laying a letter "before his Majesty to-morrow, at his return from Hampton Court."—Vol. iii., p. 164. Perhaps he had gone there only for the day.

[2] In Macaulay's last unrevised chapter, the date is given as the 20th—which is unquestionably a mistake.

[3] "He feels to-day a goutish pain in his knee."—Vernon's *Correspondence*, vol. iii.

[4] These words first appeared in the *Complete History of Europe* for 1702, the first edition of which was published in 1702, and which was continued as a sort of precursor of the *Annual Register*. Thence they were copied into all the subsequent histories, such as Ralph, Oldmixon, White-Kennett, &c.

[5] Bonnet (see *post*, p. 165), says it was "vers les trois heures apres midi."

[6] See *post*, p. 168.

The fall was so violent that William's right collar-bone was broken, and he had to be carried into the Palace,[1] probably to the royal apartments on the ground floor, in the south-east angle of Wren's building.[2] Fortunately, Monsieur Ronjat, the King's serjeant-surgeon, was at hand,[3] being perhaps in attendance on his Majesty in case of accidents, or possibly happening to be staying at Hampton Court. He at once set the bone, and after feeling his Majesty's pulse, told him he was feverish, and that in the case of any other person in the same condition he would advise bleeding. "As for that," replied William, "I have now and then had a headache,[4] and some shivering fits, this fortnight, and had this very morning a pain in my head before I went out a-hunting." No bleeding, therefore, was resorted to, and in the evening, finding himself better, he resolved, contrary to his doctor's advice, to return at once to Kensington. It must have been quite dark long before he set out, as he did not arrive till nine o'clock; and he slept almost the whole way, in spite of the jolting of the coach. On arriving at Kensington Palace, he went straight to his Great Bedchamber, and seeing his Dutch doctor Bidloe, said to him: "I have got a hurt in my arm, pray come and see it;" and then gave him the account of the accident quoted above. "Ronjat," he added, "says there's a little bone broken; and indeed I feel some pain towards

[1] Bonnet, as quoted by Ranke (*History of England*, vol. v., p. 297), says that he was first taken to Kingston, then to Hampton Court, and from there to Kensington. Tindal, however, does not mention his being taken to Kingston. Ranke states that Spanheim has also left an account of this accident; but we have not succeeded in discovering it.

[2] See *ante*, p. 67.

[3] Vernon's words are, "There was a surgeon at hand."

[4] In the account in the *Complete History of Europe*, the first that appeared in print, and apparently the authority for all subsequent accounts, the word is printed "*hand*ache," and further on also *hand* instead of *head*. But this was probably a misprint, and Tindal, in his history, while adopting the rest of this version, substituted the word *head*.

my back; there, there," said he, pointing with his left hand to the shoulder-blade. Bidloe then examined him, and finding his pulse in good order, dissuaded him from being bled, and told him that "the right channel-bone was broke obliquely a little below its juncture with the shoulder-blade." The King then asked if it was well set; whereon Dr. Bidloe saying it was not, a sharp wrangle ensued between him and Ronjat, who, on the King appealing to him to vindicate himself, maintained that it was well set, "but that the jolting of the coach and the loosening of the bandage had occasioned that disunion." The fractured bone was then set again, and William went to bed, and slept the whole night so soundly that the gentlemen who sat up to watch him declared that "they did not hear him complain so much as once."

Turning now to consider the precise circumstances of this famous accident, it is strange to find in regard to an occurrence, which caused so much excitement at the time, that almost every incident of it is involved in obscurity and doubt, and that there are considerable discrepancies in the various contemporary accounts.

In the first place, as to the time when the accident occurred, we find Bonnet, who was diplomatic agent to the Duke of Brandenburg at the Court of St. James's, and who was usually careful and well-informed, giving it as "vers les trois heures après midi," whereas other authorities state that it happened "at noon."

In the next place, as to the horse William was riding at the time. None of the contemporary and earlier authorities make any mention as to this except Bonnet, who, writing immediately after the accident, uses these words: "Sa Majesté estant allée à la chasse vers Kingston sur la Thamise, il arriva qu'elle monta contre l'avis des écuyers, un jeune cheval, qu'elle n'avoit jamais monté," &c.[1]

[1] Ranke's *History of England*, vol. v., p. 297.

This is entirely at variance with the version adopted by Macaulay, in the last unrevised chapter of his History, to which unfortunately no authorities are appended, where he speaks of William as riding "his favourite horse Sorrel." The point is the more puzzling, as we have succeeded in finding no solid warrant for this statement, if we except an unpublished manuscript couplet by Pope, in the "Epilogue to the Satires":[1]—

> "Angels that watched the Royal Oak so well,
> How chanced ye nod, when luckless Sorel fell?"—

and a line in a versified receipt for stewing veal, contributed by the poet Gay to a letter jointly written by him, Pope, and Bolingbroke, to Swift, where the herb "sorrel" is given as an ingredient, and referred to as—

> "That which killed King Will."[2]

Sorrel is stated,[3] though we know not with what accuracy, as no authority is given, to have belonged to Sir John Fenwick, who was attainted on a charge of conspiring against the King's life, and executed in 1697, when William seized all his personal effects, and converted them to his own use—among them the horse that proved so fatal to him.

An equal uncertainty involves the question as to the place where the King met with the accident. Bonnet, as above cited, speaks of it as occurring while he was hunting "*vers Kingston sur la Thamise;*" and the statement is supported by Luttrell, who, in an entry made in his Diary three days after the accident, records that it happened "as his Majestie was hunting a stagg *near Kingston-on-Thames.*"

[1] After line 227, Elwin and Courthope's *Pope*, vol. iii., p. 486.
[2] Do., vol. vii., p. 81.
[3] Strickland's *Life of Queen Anne*, under dates 1697 and 1701.

On the other hand, the "Post-Boy," published on Tuesday, 24th, announces that "as the King was taking the divertisement of Hunting a deer *near Hampton town* on Saturday last, his horse slipped," &c.; and "The Flying Post," another newspaper, which appeared on the same day, records that "As His Majesty was hunting *near Hampton Court*, his horse fell with him," &c., while the "London Gazette," which was issued on the 28th, merely notices it briefly as an "unhappy accident by a fall from his horse in hunting."

The best authority, however, is Vernon, who being in constant attendance on the King, and being the medium of conveying the official intimation of the accident to Parliament, had exceptional means of acquiring correct information. He, in a letter to a correspondent, written on the Monday, describes it as "the ill accident that befell his Majesty on Saturday last *at Hampton Court*, when he fell from his horse that stumbled at a mole-hill."[1] In saying that it took place at Hampton Court, meaning, of course, in the Park here, he agrees with the account of the accident attributed to the King as above given; and the version, which appeared in the newspapers, stating that the accident occurred "*near Hampton Court*," may perhaps be not inconsistent with it. The same may be said of the account given in the "History of the Reign of William III.," published in 1703, to which all the subsequent historians, such as White-Kennett (published in 1706),[2] Ralph, Tindal, and Oldmixon, are indebted for what they tell on the subject of the King's accident and illness, and which speaks of "the King having the misfortune, as he rode out from Kensington to hunt *near Hampton*, to fall off his horse near Hampton Court."[3]

[1] Vernon's *Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 184.

[2] Vol. iii., p. 831.

[3] *Life of King William III.*, vol. iii., p. 639, 2nd edition (1703).

Among these many accounts, published so soon after the event, it is not a little curious that not one should mention the fact of the King's horse stumbling on a mole-hill; and we should have been inclined to suspect that the story of "the little gentleman in black velvet" was a figment of later Jacobite fancy, were it not that it is mentioned by Vernon in a private letter, as we have seen, two days after. It is strange, too, to find Ralph, the Jacobite historian and William's great critic and asperser, writing in apparent ignorance of this detail in 1746, and observing that: "Tradition says that he, who had removed the landmarks of kingdoms, was thrown by an *anthill;* but however this may be," &c.[1]

Oldmixon, however, his apologist, in his History, published in 1734, after citing William's remark that it was "a strange thing, as it happened on smooth level ground," observes, "but a mole had heaved it up, and left a hole there, in which the horse's feet struck."

It is almost superfluous, after showing the uncertainty that exists as to the place where the accident happened, to remark that all attempts, which we might make, to identify the exact spot of ground where William's horse stumbled, must be futile.[2] Nothing more definite will pro-

[1] Ralph's *History*, vol. iii., p. 1020.

[2] Miss Strickland, however, undeterred by the absence of evidence, furnishes her readers, in her *Life of Queen Anne*, with full details—how William was riding in the Home Park "to look at the excavations making, under his directions, for a new canal, which was to run in another longitudinal stripe" by the side of the existing one; how "the half-excavated canal may still be seen" in an unfinished state; how the pony fell "just as he came by the head of the two canals, opposite the Ranger's park pales"; how "the workmen employed on the neighbouring excavation raised the overthrown monarch, and assisted him to the palace," and so on. But unfortunately for all this, and much more relative to Hampton Court, in that authoress's brilliant pages, there is no sort of warrant at all, beyond the fertile imagination of the lady herself, and certain shadowy Hampton Court "traditions," which were probably nothing more than the haphazard surmises of "the oldest inhabitant." Not only is there no trace of a second canal, but none was ever begun or even projected.

bably ever be known, than that the accident occurred near Hampton Court, and most likely in one or other of the Parks.

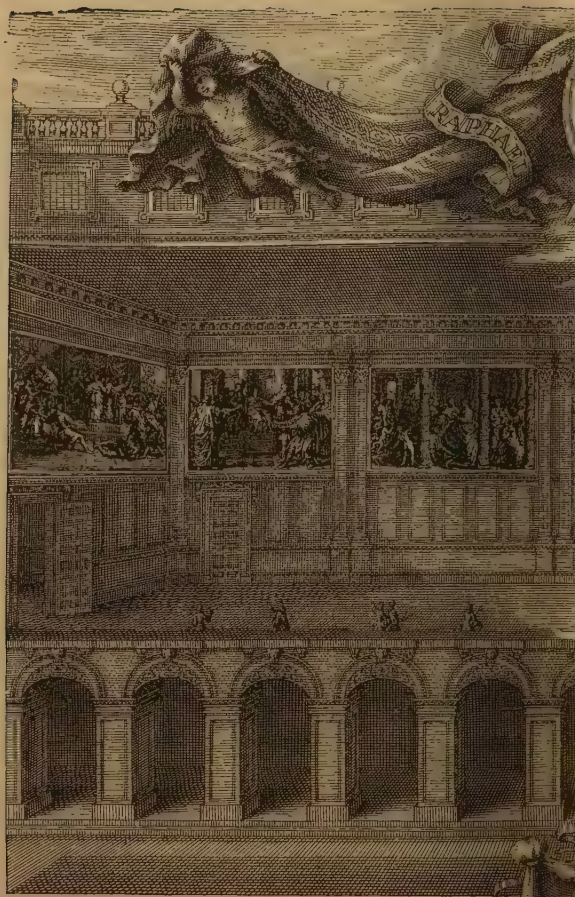
It is not within the purview of these annals to trace the further course of the King's illness, after his removal to Kensington Palace, nor to recount the discreditable wrangles of the rival doctors that raged around the sick bed of the dying monarch. Though at first it seemed as if his fall would be followed by no serious results, this favourable aspect did not last long. He was seized with shivering fits and other alarming symptoms, and on the morning of Sunday, the 8th of March, 1702, the spirit of William III. passed to its account.

CHAPTER XII.

QUEEN ANNE AT HAMPTON COURT.

Queen Anne's slight Connection with Hampton Court—"Sometimes Counsel takes, and sometimes Tea"—The Cartoon Gallery—Queen Anne's Bedchamber and Bed—Works in the Parks and Gardens—Clamorous Creditors of the Crown—Verrio paints the Queen's Drawing Room—Statues not paid for—Undischarged Debts to Workmen—Jean Tijou threatened with Imprisonment—A destitute Widow's Bill left unpaid—A Bill of Nine Years' standing—Expenditure on Turfing the Great Fountain Garden—Kip's Plan of Hampton Court—Queen Anne's political Perplexities—The Duchess of Marlborough—Anne comes to Hampton Court for the Air—Dean Swift at Hampton Court—Lord Halifax's House in Bushey Park—His Relations with Swift and Steele—The Chapel re-decorated—A new Organ made by Schrider—Recent Improvements in the Organ.

QUEEN ANNE, on whose short reign of twelve years we now enter, has but few and unimportant associations with the history of Hampton Court; for though she visited the Palace several times, her sojourns were never eventful or prolonged, her Majesty much preferring Windsor and Kensington as residences. Nor did she enter upon any considerable new works in the palace, gardens, or parks, though she carried on and completed such improvements, as had been begun by William III., but remained unfinished at the time of her accession.



The Seven Famous Cartons of Raphael Urbin: Drawn at the Command of Pope Leo the 10th as Patterns for Tapestry; They were bought by K. Charles the first at the Persuasion of S.r P. P. Rubens and brought from Flanders into England; afterwards K. William fix'd them in his Palace of Hampton = = Court in the Gallery here Represented.
In 1707. they were drawn and Engraven by Sim: Gribelin and by him most humbly Dedicated to Her Late Majesty —

Septem Tabulas Chartaceæ (Jussu Leonis X. Pontificis Romani) a Raphaele Urbinate in Aulæorum Texturam pictæ: quas Rex Carolus I. (Suasu P.P. Rubens Equitis) ex Flandriâ in Angliam advehi jussit: et quas postea Rex Gulielmus Palatio suo Hampton-Court dicto in Pinacothecâ hic representata collocavit.
Anno 1707. eas delineavit Ærique incidit Sim: Gribelin et Seren.mæ Annæ Reginæ humillissime Dedicavit.
S. G. inv. et sculp.t & excudit: 1720

Her connection, in fact, with the subject of these pages may be summed up in the well-known lines of the third canto of Pope's "Rape of the Lock":—

> Close by those meads, for ever crowned with flowers,
> Where Thames with pride surveys his rising towers,
> There stands a structure of majestic frame
> Which from the neighb'ring Hampton takes its name.
> Here Britain's statesmen oft the fall foredoom
> Of foreign tyrants, and of nymphs at home;
> Here thou, great ANNA! whom three realms obey,
> Dost sometimes counsel take—and sometimes tea.

The phrase, "dost sometimes counsel take," proves to have a more definite signification and appropriateness, than would be supposed by the casual reader, for Queen Anne, especially in the first few years of her reign, used frequently to come over to Hampton Court, while staying at Windsor Castle, for the purpose of presiding over meetings of her Privy Council, which were held in the Cartoon Gallery, otherwise known as the Great Council Chamber, or King's Gallery. Thus we have record of councils being held here in the year 1702, within a few months of her accession, on July 7th and 23rd, and August 6th, 18th, and 25th;[1] in 1703 on June 8th, July 8th, and August 31st;[2] and in 1704 on June 1st, on which occasion she dined and slept at the Palace; and in the summers of subsequent years.

Of the Cartoon Gallery, which is one of the finest rooms at Hampton Court, we have already made some mention in a previous chapter;[3] and the annexed plate will afford the reader a good representation of its general appearance, when the seven great cartoons of Raphael, for the reception of which it was built, still hung on its walls. The plate is a

[1] Luttrell's *Relation*, vol. v., pp. 192, 202, 205, and 207. See also *London Gazette*.

[2] Do., pp. 303, 333, 430, 470.

[3] See *ante*, p. 85.

slightly reduced facsimile of one by Simon Gribelin, who executed a series of engravings of the cartoons for Queen Anne in 1707, to which this is a sort of introductory frontispiece. The chimney-piece in the gallery is a fine bas-relief in white marble of Venus drawn in a chariot by cupids; but of its beauty, as well as that of the carving of the capitals of the oak pilasters, and of the cornice and the doorways, a very inadequate idea is conveyed by this view.

The other rooms composing the King's suite of State Apartments were, doubtless, also occupied by Queen Anne, whenever she was at Hampton Court; as well as two or three rooms of the Queen's suite, which having remained unfinished at the death of William III., were probably completed for her use about this time. As to which bedchamber she slept in, when residing at the Palace, we cannot say for certain; most likely it was the "Queen's State Bedchamber," in the east side of the Fountain Court, though its ceiling was not decorated until after the accession of George I. Her bed, at any rate, is traditionally identified as the one now in that room—a magnificent four-poster, with rich hangings of fine silk velvet, worked with an elaborate pattern, of architectural designs and conventional vases and flowers, in orange and crimson, on a white ground.

In the meantime, various works were proceeded with, in the parks and gardens, with the object, as we have said, of putting the finishing touches to what William III. had begun. One of the first of these was a proposal for fencing the meads, at the end of the House Park, from the bargeway, in order to preserve "Her Maj^{ts} studd there from the great hazard of their being killed or drowned;" whence it would appear that, hitherto, the meadows had been open to the bargeway and river, and that the stud in the House Park at Hampton Court, which has since been so renowned, dates from as far back as the time of Queen Anne. This work

was estimated to cost £686, and it was minuted that "the Queen would have the fence made, but thinks it ought to cost half that sum." [1]

Her Majesty, in truth, as far as concerned expenditure on Hampton Court, or indeed on any of her palaces, was always the reverse of profuse; and it was with the greatest difficulty, and only after a most persistent "dunning," that the workmen, who had been employed on the Hampton Court works for many years by the late King, and whose accumulated arrears of debts against the Crown amounted to thousands of pounds, could succeed in getting paid what was due to them.

Among the first and most clamorous of these creditors of Royalty was Verrio, the painter, to whom there was owing a sum of £1,190 on account of the painting of the King's Great Staircase and the Little Bedchamber, of which we have spoken on a former page.[2] The necessities of Verrio—or "Signor" Verrio, as he preferred to call himself in his memorial, imagining that it was a title of honour—"were very pressing for money, and without speedy assistance he was like to be reduced to great extremity." [3] In response to this appeal her Majesty directed the payment to him of £600; and having done so, forthwith commissioned him to paint the ceiling of "the Great Room," so that eighteen months later we find him again crying out for cash,[4] and stating that he wanted it for colours, &c., to finish the great room at Hampton Court; that he had received only £200; but that another "£500 would serve for his subsistence and charges until the room was complete." His memorial was referred to Sir Christopher Wren, who recommended that

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxx., No. 100, July 6th, 1702, and vol. lxxxv., No. 89, July 16th, 1703.

[2] See *ante*, p. 69.

[3] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxi., No. 22, July 28th, 1702.

[4] Do., vol. lxxxix., No. 41.

he should have the £500 "till the room be finished, measured and allowed in proportion to his other works."

The room in question is the Queen's Drawing Room, the central room of the East Front, and one of the finest of the suite, being 41 feet long, 35 feet wide, and 30 feet high. From it the visitor can judge of the real taste of this reign, which was nothing better than an imitation of the bastard classic of Louis XIV., as distinguished from the so-called "Queen Anne style," which never had any existence at all, except an imaginary one in the brains of modern æsthetes and china-maniacs.

Verrio's ceiling represents Queen Anne in the character of Justice, with scales in one hand and a sword in the other; her dress is purple, lined with ermine. Over her head a crown is held by Neptune and Britannia; while surrounding her, and floating in the clouds, are various allegorical figures representing Peace, Plenty, &c. "On the sides of this room," we are told in 1741, "are more paintings of Verrio, representing the British fleet, and Prince George of Denmark pointing to it; and the four parts of the world, shown by four figures; but these were thought so indifferent that they are now concealed and covered over with hangings of green damask."[1] A flock paper, affixed to a stretched canvas, now takes the place of the old hangings; but the painted walls behind them remain as they were. It is worthy of consideration, whether it would not be well to uncover the painted walls, and show the room as it was in the time of Queen Anne, that the visitor to Hampton Court may have a truer idea of the decoration of that period.

Soon after painting this room, Verrio's eyesight failed him; and it is stated by Walpole that "Queen Anne gave him a pension of £200 a year for life, but he did not enjoy

[1] *Apelles Britannicus.*

it long, dying at Hampton Court in 1707,"[1] doubtless in his apartments in the Palace.

Another creditor who was demanding payment of his account about the same time as Verrio, was Robert Balle, a London merchant, who claimed a sum of £600 for seven marble Italian statues and one marble head, which were purchased by him by the late King's orders in Italy, and were intended for Hampton Court.

They consisted of "Autumn, with two Satyrs at his feet, to the life, £120; Ceres or Venus, to the life, £120; Apollo, bigger than the life, £90," and five other similar pieces;[2] and they had not been paid for, on account of William III.'s death occurring immediately after the order had been given. What was done in the matter does not appear; for on the man's memorial are endorsed two minutes, one dated 30th June, 1703, "He may have the statues again," and another, 6th July, 1711, "To be layd before the Queen," which seems to imply that his claim was still unsatisfied nine years after it was preferred.

Other creditors of the Crown had equal, if not more, difficulty in getting their bills attended to, to say nothing of their being settled. Thus, the petition of Matthew Roberts, plumber, for payment of a considerable sum due to him on account of work "in and about the gardens at Hampton Court," was responded to by the mere endorsement, "Read."[3] While Richard Stacey, master-bricklayer, who was owed £6,481 0*s.* 11½*d.* for work done at Hampton Court and elsewhere, and who stated that "part of the work at Hampton Court was finished in her present Ma^tys reign, although directed by the late King,"[4] received a no less unsatisfactory response. His petition alleged that "Your pet^rs creditors

[1] *Anecdotes of Painting.* [2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvi., No. 76.
[3] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvi., No. 78, June 30th, 1703.
[4] Do., vol. lxxxviii., No. 32, Dec. 18th, 1703.

are generally very clamourous, but more particularly the bricklayers, Lyme-men and other persons, who furnished materialls for y^e^ said works at Hampton Court, and threaten speedily to sue y^r^ pet^r^ for y^e^ goods delivered for that service;" and he asked for payment to enable him to pay for "y^e^ goods and materialls in her Ma^ty's^ services, to ease him of y^e^ said clamour." Yet all the answer he got from the Treasury was: "There is no money at present for arrears."

A similar reply was given to "John Tissue," *i.e.* Jean Tijou, who prayed for payment of £1,889 1*s.* 6¼*d.* still due and owing to him for the ironwork at Hampton Court, in regard to which he was "indebted to several persons, who threaten to imprison him."[1] One of these was probably Huntingdon Shaw, the skilful artificer, to whom we have referred in an earlier chapter, and who is said to have died of disappointment at not being paid.[2]

And with regard to the claim of Benjamin Jackson, master-mason, a creditor for £558 18*s.* 7*d.* for works "done in the house and gardens of Hampton Court, which were begun during the life of his late Ma^tie^, but not finished till some time after her present Ma^ties^ accession to the throne," though his petition was reported on as true by the Officers of Works, on May 9th, 1705, nothing was done in regard to it for four years, when, at last, on the 29th of September, 1709, it was ordered, by the Lord High Treasurer, that the debt should be paid "by tally on tin."[3]

Nor do we find that any notice whatever was taken of the petition of Thomas Highmore, her Majesty's serjeant-painter, who was owed £163 odd, for painting done in the gardens at Hampton Court, although the Board of Works reported that the painting was since her Majesty's accession,

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvi., No. 96, July 7th, 1703.

[2] See *ante*, p. 56.

[3] *Treasury Papers*, vol. xciv., No. 52.

that the allegations of the petition were true, and that the claim was just and should be paid.[1]

Another petitioner, one Tilleman Robart, who craved, in August, 1707, for payment to him of arrears for keeping the gardens in order at Hampton Court, "the greater part being of nine years' standing," was treated equally unceremoniously.[2] While a still more unfortunate creditor of the Crown was one Rachel Bennett, widow and executor of John Bennett, late quartermaster to her Majesty's first regiment of Guards, who had done repairs to the amount of £227 2*s.* 11*d.* at the barrack at Hampton Court and other of the Queen's palaces, and who complained that several of the workmen "brought their accounts against her, whereby she was reduced to very mean circumstances, and almost to a starving condition."[3] But even the piteous appeal of a starving widow did not avail to draw coin from the royal coffers, and this at a time when the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough were extracting thousands on thousands from their feeble-minded sovereign!

But though Queen Anne was slow to discharge the arrears of debts accumulated in the Office of Works, she was —after the manner of debtors—ready enough to incur new ones. For we find that in 1707, soon after a visit[4] she paid to Hampton Court in the month of April of that year, she gave orders for "the new Turfing and Gravelling of y^e^ Great Fountain Garden, with some new turfing where y^e^ drowth of y^e^ 3 last summers has burnt the turf" at a cost of £1,141 8*s.* 3*d.*[5]

This may have had something to do with an alteration effected by Queen Anne in the style of the gardening at

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. xcviii., No. 71, May 31st, 1706.
[2] Do., vol. cii., No. 93.
[3] Do., vol. xcv., No. 27, July 25th, 1705.
[4] Luttrell, vol. vi., p. 154.
[5] *Treasury Papers*, vol. cvii., No. 3, May 3rd, 1708.

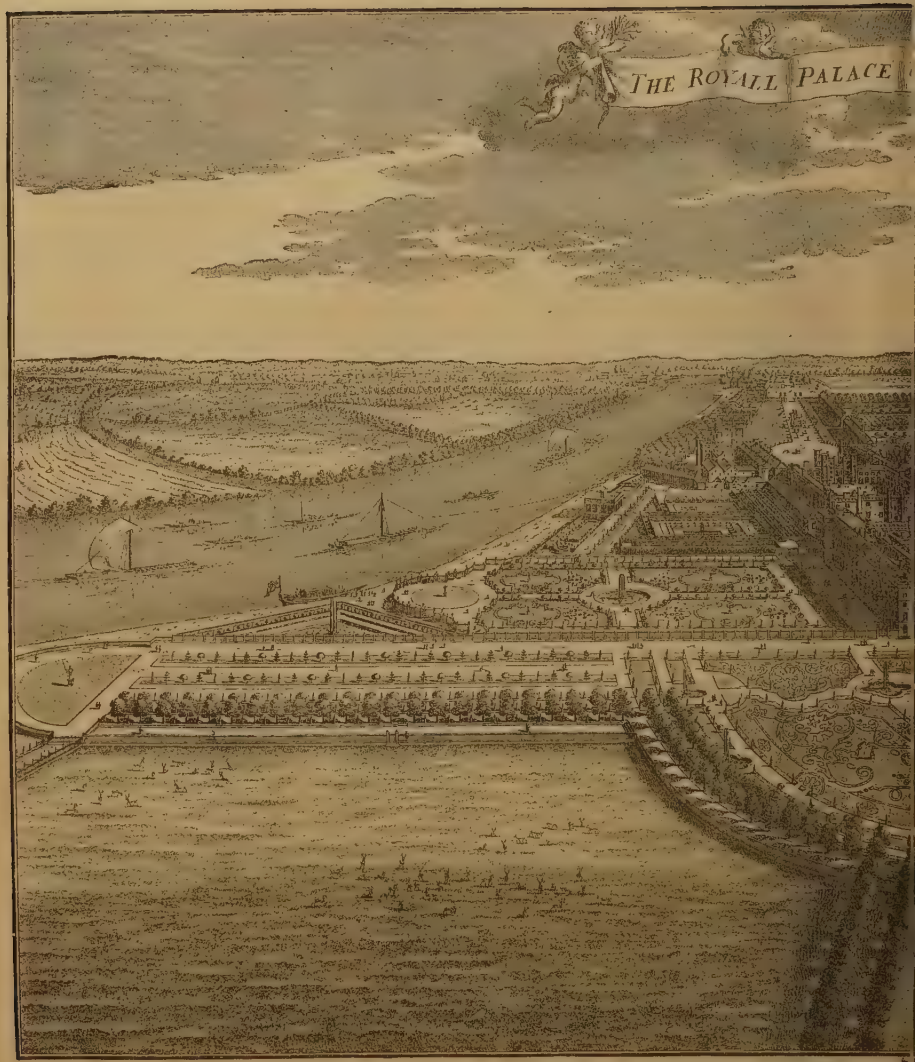
Hampton Court, to which we previously referred, namely, the rooting up of the box, which had been planted to excess in William III.'s time.[1]

To about this period, we may here observe, belongs the large copper-plate of Hampton Court, engraved by Kip, of which the accompanying plate is a reduced facsimile. Its approximate date of publication is determined by its dedication to "Charles Spencer, Earle of Sunderland, Baron of Wormleighton, one of her Majesty's Principal Secretary's (*sic*) of State," &c., whose period of office extended from 1706 to 1710.

After the year 1707 we do not hear of the Queen being at Hampton Court again until January, 1710, the time when Dr. Sacheverell's impeachment was still pending, and when the Queen, who had recently quarrelled with the Duchess of Marlborough, was endeavouring to free herself from her toils. It was from this Palace that she wrote an important letter to Harley, telling him of the perplexities in which she was, rebuking his want of courage in not coming to speak with her, and claiming his loyal assistance in her troubles and difficulties. So fearful was she, however, lest the fact of her communication should become known to Godolphin and the Marlboroughs, that she sent the letter to him by the hand of "one of the under labourers in Hampton Court Gardens," by whom it was given to a messenger, who handed it to its recipient all begrimed with dirt.[2]

Another visit of Queen Anne's to Hampton Court took place on the 4th of May following, when she entertained some Indian kings in this Palace;[3] while in the month of June, she came down from London twice a week "for the air." By the end of July in the same year, 1710, she seems

[1] See *ante*, p. 36.
[2] Swift's *Memoirs*, relating to the change of ministry in 1710.—Swift's *Works*, ed. 1824, vol. iii., p. 182.
[3] Luttrell, vol. vi., p. 599.



To the Right Honorable CHARLES SPENCER *Earle of* SUNDERLAND *Baron*
This Plate is humbly Dedicated by your

Bird's-eye View, looking westward, of Hampton Court, in the reign of Queen A

of WORMLEIGHTON, one of her Majesty's Principal Secretary's of State &c.
Lordships Most Obedient Servants

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Kip, published between 1706 and 1710.

to have resolved to make a prolonged stay at Hampton Court in the ensuing autumn; for, preparatory to her coming, the Duke of Shrewsbury, then Lord Chamberlain, issued his warrant,[1] on the 31st of that month, for the delivery to "Richard Marriott, Esq., the Keeper of the Privy Lodgings and Standing Wardrobe at Hampton Court," various articles for her Majesty's service in this Palace, among which were: "Four thousand tenterhooks of several sizes, two thousand tacks, one dozen of brushes, twelve lined buckets for coals, four pound of thread of several colours, two hundred needles of several sizes, one ream of writing paper, two folio paper books, five hundred pens, a gallon of ink, five thousand wafers, one pound of sealing wax," with many other similar things, which cost altogether £42.

On the 26th of September,[2] 1710, accordingly, she moved to Hampton Court with the whole court for a fortnight's stay, which was the longest time she had hitherto ever spent at this Palace, since her accession. This was just after the dissolution of Parliament, and while the Queen's new Tory ministers were coming into office, with Harley as their practical head. It was the time, also, when the Duchess of Marlborough was retaining the key of her office as Mistress of the Robes, in defiance of the Queen's reiterated commands to her to surrender it at once.

Swift, as we learn from his "Journal to Stella," came down to Hampton Court once or twice while the court was here, the first occasion being on October 2nd, to dine with Lord Halifax at his lodgings in the Palace—those in the uppermost storey of the south side of the Fountain Court, overlooking the Private Gardens, and now comprised in Suite XVI.—where he met Sir Paul Methuen, the English ambassador at Lisbon. "I went," writes he, "to the drawing-room"—the

[1] Now in the British Museum, *Add. MSS.*, No. 10,101, fol. 73.
[2] Luttrell, vol. vi., p. 633.

room we mentioned a page or two back—"before dinner (for the Queen was at Hampton Court) and expected to see nobody; but I met acquaintance enough." Anne's demeanour at one of her levées, which, as few attended, was held in her bedroom, he describes on another occasion thus: "We made our bows, and stood, about twenty of us, round the room, while the Queen looked at us with her fan in her mouth, and once in a minute said about three words to some that were nearest to her; and then she was told dinner was ready, and went out. . . . I dined at her Majesty's board of green cloth. It is much the best table in England, and costs the Queen £1,000 a month while she is at Windsor or Hampton Court, and is the only mark of magnificence or royal hospitality that I can see in the Royal household."[1] . . . . "I walked in the gardens, saw the cartons (*sic*) of Raphael and other things, and with great difficulty got from Lord Halifax, who would have kept me to-morrow to show me his house and park and improvements. We left Hampton Court at sunset."[2]

Lord Halifax's park and house, here mentioned, were not his own property, but belonged to the Crown, being, in fact, Bushey Park and the residence situated in it, now known as Bushey House, which is near the Teddington gate, on the west side of the Chestnut Avenue, and which is in the present occupation of the Duc de Nemours, by the favour of our own Most Gracious Sovereign. It was on the 3rd of June of this year 1710, that Halifax had entered into possession, on his appointment to the offices of Chief Steward of the Honour and Manor of Hampton Court, Feodary of the Honour, Lieutenant and Keeper of the Chase, Keeper of Bushey Park, and of the Middle, North, and South Parks, and Paler and Mower of the brakes of the same, Keeper of

[1] *Journal to Stella*, Aug. 8th, 1711. [2] Do., Oct. 2nd, 1710.

Queen Anne

the Game in and about the Honour, and Principal Housekeeper of Hampton Court Palace; some of them for two lives and others of them for three lives, with the wages, fees, and allowances thereto belonging, which amounted to something about £200 a year. These posts, with their emoluments, had been conferred on Thomas Young, Esq., by letters patent of Charles II.,[1] on the death of the Duke of Albemarle, to hold them during the lives of the Duchess of Cleveland, whose trustee he was,[2] and the Duke of Northumberland. Young's interest Halifax had acquired by purchase, on the death of the Duchess in 1709, and also his reversion, after the death of Edward Progers—whom we mentioned in our second volume[3] as a boon companion of Charles II., and confidant of his amours—to the office of Keeper of the Harewarren; and in consideration of his surrender of them, and of "the good and faithful and acceptable services" of the said Charles, Lord Halifax, Queen Anne made a new grant to him of all the above enumerated offices.[4]

There was a stipulation, however, that Halifax was "at his own proper cost and charges, to rebuild or well and substantially repair" the Lodge in Bushey Park, which had not been inhabited for upwards of twenty years, and had gone to ruin and decay. This he seems to have done at considerable expense.[5]

[1] Patent, 29 Charles II., pt. iii., No. 7.

[2] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, pp. 57 and 75.

[3] See vol. ii., pp. 205-7. He is buried at Hampton.

[4] *Treasury Papers*, vol. cxiv., No. 28, which contains the draft, corrected in the hand of Northey, Attorney-General, of Queen Anne's Letters Patent under the Great Seal for the grant of the several offices at Hampton Court to Charles, Earl of Halifax; and vol. cxcviii., No. 51, Feb. 27th, 1716. See also Patent, 8 Anne, pt. i., No. 3.

[5] This Lodge is not to be confounded with the Upper Lodge, which, in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii., p. 374, ed. 1807, is, we think, erroneously stated to have been inhabited by the Earl of Halifax. Switzer, in his *Ichnographia Rustica*, vol. i., p. 87, mentions with approval Halifax's "forest work" in Bushey Park.

It was to this house that Halifax invited Swift, as we saw above, to inspect his improvements; and he again, on October 4th, pressed him to come and dine with him. Swift, however, declined the honour, on the plea that "he had business of great importance that hindered him;" and in effect he saw, that same day, Harley, who was the leader of the opposite party—the Tories—who received him "with the greatest respect and kindness imaginable," being, doubtless, desirous of his literary support. Halifax was probably equally anxious to ingratiate himself with a man, who wielded so powerful a pen; and Swift, perhaps suspecting this motive, did not respond with much alacrity. "Lord Halifax," says he, "is always teasing me to go down to his country house, which will cost me a guinea to his servants, and twelve shillings coach hire; and he shall be hanged first." [1]

At the same time, his civility to Swift was perhaps not altogether self-interested, as Halifax had a genuine regard and love for men of letters. Of this Steele [2] is a witness, when, in the dedication of the fourth volume of "The Tatler" to "Charles, Lord Halifax," which is dated from "the Hovel at Hampton Wick, April 7th, 1711," he says: "I could not but indulge a certain vanity in dating from this little covert, where I have frequently had the honour of your Lordship's company, and received from you many obligations. The elegant solitude of this place, and the greatest pleasures of it, I owe to its being so near those beautiful manors wherein you sometimes reside." [3]

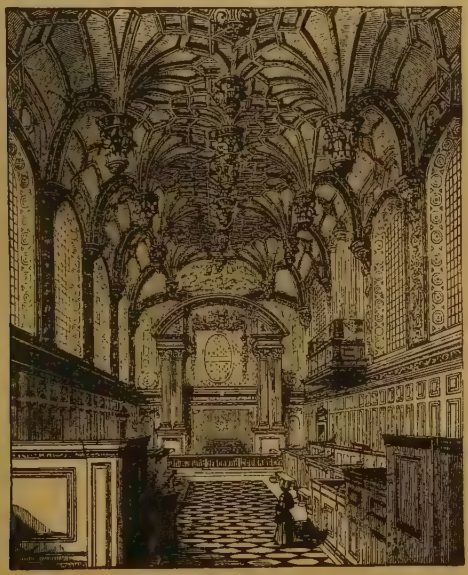
Steele had taken "the Hovel"—as he humorously called it in contrast to the neighbouring Palace—in the summer of

[1] Swift's *Journal to Stella.*

[2] See Montgomery's (H. R.) *Memoirs of Steele*, vol. i., p. 205.

[3] Steele's *Epistolary Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 140 and 208. One of his letters is addressed "To Mrs. Steele, at her house in the Wick, near Hampton Court," p. 142.

the year 1708; and he was afterwards, on the accession of George I., appointed Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court—a post to which some small emolument was probably attached—as well as put into the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex.[1] There is a print of Steele, with this title after his name, and his age—46.



The Chapel.

Returning now to Queen Anne's visit to Hampton Court in the autumn of 1710, we may observe that it was probably during this sojourn of hers at the Palace, that she gave orders for the re-decoration of the Chapel, the elaborate Tudor ceiling of which was repainted, the walls embellished with

[1] Montgomery's (H. R.) *Memoirs of Sir Richard Steele*, vol. ii., p. 66.

carving by Gibbons, the windows deprived of their Gothic mullions, the floor paved with black and white marble, and new pews made of fine Norway oak in the classic taste.

These alterations are, of course, quite out of harmony with the original style of the Chapel, though they are made to blend with considerable skill; and time and historic association help to tone the incongruity. Probably it was at the same period, that the old gallery at the west end of the chapel, over the ante-chapel, was entirely altered, the magnificent Tudor decorations of Henry VIII. being swept away, and a small royal pew made in the centre of it for the Queen. The ceiling of the pew is noteworthy, being painted, probably by the hand of Verrio, with a group of cherubim sustaining the British crown imperial over Queen Anne's initials, A. R., and waving over it an olive-branch.

About the same time, also, a new organ was ordered to be made for the chapel, by Christopher Schrider,[1] one of "Father" Schmidt's pupils, who, having become his son-in-law, succeeded, after his death in 1708, to his business, and in 1710, to his post of "Organ-Maker to her Majesty."[2] The cost of Schrider's organ was £800,[3] exclusive of fees; and it is, doubtless, the one now in use in Hampton Court Chapel, which occupies the old gallery or "organ-house" added to the chapel by Henry VIII., and stands about 20 feet high, and 10 feet broad. Its case is of oak, beautifully carved by Gibbons; and the sound-board and movements are also of oak, and in excellent preservation.

The organ, however, has from time to time undergone alteration and improvement.

In 1840, a new bellows was added by Hill, who removed

[1] Sometimes spelt Schreider, or possibly Schröder.

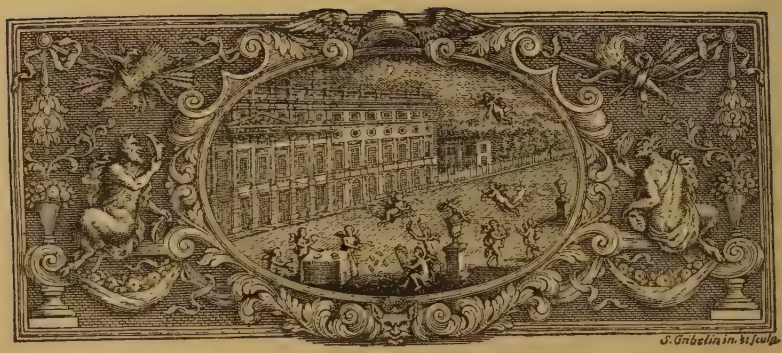
[2] Grove's *Dictionary of Music.*

[3] *Treasury Papers*, vols. cxxxiii., No. 48, April, 1711, and clxi., No. 23, May 15th, 1713.

a mounted cornet consisting of 20 pipes, and added a swell of five stops. The great organ, as distinguished from the swell and choir organs, still remains in its original state, and comprises nine entire stops—which, for the information of our musical readers, we may add, consist of: open diapason, 8 ft.; stopped diapason, 8 ft. tone; flute, 4 ft.; principal, 4 ft.; twelfth, $2\frac{2}{3}$ ft.; fifteenth, 2 ft.; sesquialtera, 3 ranks; cornet, 3 ranks; trumpet, 8 ft. The choir organ is also in its original state, and consists of: stopped diapason, 8 ft. tone; flute, 4 ft; principal, 4 ft.; fifteenth, 2 ft.

Subsequently, when Dr. Sellé was organist, further enlargements and improvements were made by Messrs. Hill and Son, chiefly to the swell organ, the nature of which our musical readers will understand from the table printed in Appendix F. The peculiarity of the alteration was, that the original work was left untouched, as far as regards the voicing of the pipes, this organ being almost the only old one that has not been spoilt by cutting them.

Concerning the quality of tone of the Hampton Court organ, as far as the diapasons are concerned, there does not exist the least difference of opinion among connoisseurs—all are delighted with it. This is owing, in a great measure, to the quality of the wood and metal used in its construction, as well as to the mellowing influence of time.



CHAPTER XIII.

QUEEN ANNE—"THE RAPE OF THE LOCK."

More Councils at the Palace—Reception of the Lord Mayor—Improvements in the Parks—Twenty Miles of Chaise Riding in the Parks—The little Canal enlarged—Thomas Savery's Proposal—Invention of a Water Engine for the Fountains, and in Case of Fire—A Party at the "Toy"—Quarrel and Scuffle between Sir Cholmley Dering and Mr. Richard Thornhill—A Challenge—The Duel—Thornhill tried at the Old Bailey—Murder of Thornhill—"The Rape of the Lock"—Facts on which the Poem was founded—The Arrival at Hampton Court—The Severing of the Sacred Hair—Picture of Social Life at Hampton Court—Queen Anne again at the Palace—Proclamation for the Reform of the Stage—The Diana Fountain erected in Bushey Park—Hedge-work in the Wilderness—The Lion Gates.

QUEEN ANNE remained at Hampton Court in the autumn of the year 1710, for about a fortnight or so, and after her return to town she used to come down occasionally, as she had formerly done, for the meetings of the Privy Council, which were held here on October 7th, 10th, and 19th, at which the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,[1] and 23rd,[2]—on the last of which dates "the Lord

[1] Swift's *Journal to Stella.*

[2] Luttrell's *Relation*, vol. vi., p. 640.

Mayor and the rest of the Lieutenancy for the City of London waited upon the Queen, and presented an address to her of the usual loyal tenour, filled with such stock phrases as "prostrating ourselves before Your Majesty," "Defence of your Royal person," "Insolence of Faction at Home," "Despicable Meanness of a Pretender abroad," "Pure and Undefiled Mother the Church of England," "Opposition to Popery," "Protestant Succession," and so on, to which Queen Anne, of course, made a most gracious answer.

Again, on November the 2nd and 9th, other councils were held at Hampton Court; while on the 6th or 7th the Queen was here for the holding of a Chapter of the Order of the Garter, and she removed hither the day after Christmas-day for the holidays.[1]

During this sojourn Queen Anne showed, by giving orders for certain improvements in the parks and gardens, that she had taken sufficient fancy to Hampton Court to contemplate returning to it at a subsequent time, and residing in it a good deal. The chief work was the making of some "Chaise-Ridings fitt for her Ma^tys passage with more ease and safety in her chaise or coach in both her parks . . . to be made 20 miles in compass, by taking off the hills, filling in y^e holes, digging ditches and watercourses, to carry off y^e water, where wanted, digging and getting out of y^e Fern, Nettles, and other weeds that annoy them, making all passable and sowing with Hay-seed where wanted."[2]

The "chaise-ridings" were partly in the avenues, thus forming about eight miles of shady walks, and partly in the open. A map of the two parks accompanies the estimate and shows how the twenty miles of drive is made up. One would think that it could have afforded but little pleasure to anyone to drive round and round a park, backwards and forwards along parallel roads, and in and out of avenues;

[1] Luttrell, p. 667. [2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. cxxvi., No. 21, Nov. 23rd, 1710.

but it happens to have been one of Queen Anne's fancies so to do. "She hunts in a chaise with one horse," writes Swift, during a visit to court about this time, "which she drives herself, and drives furiously like Jehu, and is a mighty hunter like Nimrod." And a few days after he speaks of her hunting the stag till four in the afternoon, and driving in her chaise no less than forty miles.[1]

Another improvement estimated for at the same time was the "making wider from 30 to 40 feet that part of y^e^ Canal that leads from Bushey Park north, to the Great Canal south, that taketh the middle line of the house, and half incloseth the Great Fountain Garden on y^e^ East Front; and new digging and making the other part from the said Great Canal to the Terrass next y^e^ Thames south of 40 feet wide, both being near 2,500 foot long."[2] This refers to the ornamental water, between the lime groves and the House Park, which is known as the Little Canal, and which, subsequent to this time, was taken into the Great Fountain Garden, by the shifting of the iron fence to the east side of it.

It was probably about the same time that a proposal was submitted to her Majesty "for the improvement of the Fountains at Hampton Court,"[3] by Captain Thomas Savery, an exceedingly clever engineer, who was the first inventor of a steam-engine which was put into extended practical use.[4]

His proposal in regard to the fountains at Hampton Court seems to have depended on a very ingenious contrivance, much in advance of the average mechanical appliances of that period. It was "to make an engine to go by a water-wheele, . . . the engine to be double, and to worke either four or eight barrells at a time, or either sett of the barrells

[1] *Journal to Stella*, July 31st and August 7th, 1711.

[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. cxxvi., No. 21, Oct. 12th, 1710.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 20,101, f. 71.

[4] Bourne's *Treatise on the Steam Engine*, p. 4, *et seq.*

as shall be thought fitt. Each sett will raise three hundred Tuns in twelve hours, and boath, six hundred tuns in twelve hours." The engine, which was to be fixed at the Reservoir in Bushey Park, near the Upper Lodge, was to "command water enough to serve the Greate Fountaine in the Garden at the upper end of the canall, the lower Fountaine next the Thames, and the Fountaine in the Court and something more . . . and being turned off from the Fountaines will in a moment convey water with great force through all the apartments of the said court, without lodging any quantity of water on the Roofe thereof to injure the same, notwithstanding it will answer the End of a very large Cisterne on the Top of the Pallas, and will be of more use than if the whole Roofe were one intire cisterne." The apparatus, as the inventor pointed out, would be of wonderful service in case of fire. The engine was to be completed in three months, and was to cost but one thousand pounds; and Savery proposed that he should be given a salary of £250 a year for maintaining it and keeping it in repair, and for servants' wages and all other contingencies.

Queen Anne, however, was not the sort of person likely to give any encouragement to a mere inventor, however useful and ingenious his contrivance might be; and we do not hear that Savery's proposal was ever entertained by her at all. It was afterwards laid before George I.; but he was still less likely to have interested himself in anything of the sort.[1] Indeed, Hampton Court had to wait till 1878, before a scheme for water supply in case of fire, as efficacious as that designed by him, was carried out at the Palace.

The spring of the following year, 1711, is marked in the social history of the reign of Queen Anne by a quarrel, which, having resulted in the most tragical consequences,

[1] The manuscript is endorsed, "From Mr. Talman for the King."

made a great stir at the time, and which, as it occurred within the precincts of the royal manor of Hampton Court, must be duly chronicled in these pages. The incident leading to it, occurred at the "Toy," the famous hostelry, which, until about the year 1852, when it was pulled down, had stood for generations at the right-hand side, as you go in, of the western entrance to Hampton Court, on the piece of ground now planted with shrubbery, to the south of the "Trophy Gates," and opposite the Mitre Hotel.

The "Toy" had probably been built in the time of Henry VIII., and in the Parliamentary Survey of 1653, referred to in our second volume,[1] it is mentioned as being "now used as a victualling house." Trade tokens of this house in the seventeenth century are extant,[2] one being heart-shaped, with the inscription, "John Drewree at y^e^ Toye at Hampton Court;" and another, also heart-shaped, inscribed "John Drewry, at the Toye at Hampton Court. His Halfe-Peny."[3]

Here those staying in the Palace, or visiting Hampton Court for the day, used frequently to resort for convivial gatherings; and here, on the 27th of April, 1711, a large company of eighteen gentlemen was assembled, when a difference arose between two of the party—Sir Cholmley Dering, Member of Parliament for the County of Kent, and Mr. Richard Thornhill. From high words they passed to blows, and a violent scuffle ensued, in which the wainscot of the room was broken in, and Thornhill was thrown down, and some of his teeth—no less than seven, according to Swift[4]—were dashed out, Sir Cholmley Dering stamping upon him in the *mêlée*. The rest of the company hereupon

[1] Pages 167 and 258.

[2] Larwood and Hotten's *History of Signboards*, p. 505.

[3] Ripley's *History and Topography of Hampton*, p. 83. A distraint was made on the proprietor of the "Toy," on March 19th, 1711, probably for rates due to the parish of Hampton. Do., p. 86.

[4] *Journal to Stella*, May 9th, 1711.

interposed between the combatants, and Sir Cholmley being induced to acknowledge himself in the wrong, declared himself ready to beg Mr. Thornhill's pardon. Here the quarrel might have ended, had not Thornhill, still smarting with the pain of the blow and the loss of his teeth, protested that a mere apology was not sufficient atonement for battering a man's teeth out of his head, and demanded further satisfaction. Irritated at this reception of his overtures, Sir Cholmley answered that "he did not know where to find him;" to which Thornhill promptly retorted, "That is a lie!"

Soon after the party broke up; the two antagonists returning home in different coaches.

It appears that after this Sir Cholmley again made offers of accommodation to his former friend, but Thornhill would not accept them, and as soon as he had somewhat recovered from his injuries,—which the doctors deposed, at the subsequent trial,[1] to be so severe that he might have died of them had he not possessed an excellent constitution,—he sent Sir Cholmley the following challenge:—

May 8th, 1711.

SIR,—I shall be able to go abroad to-morrow morning, and desire that you would give me a meeting with your sword and your pistols, which I insist on: the worthy Gentleman my Friend, who brings this, will concert with you for Time and Place. I think Tuttle Fields will do very well. Hide Park will not, this Time of the Year being full of company.

I am Your Humble Servant,
RICHARD THORNHILL.

This letter of course left Sir Cholmley Dering no alternative; and accordingly early next morning, May 9th, he came with a brace of pistols to Thornhill's house, who received him

[1] *Tracts.* British Museum, E. $\frac{1992}{21}$.

in his dining-room, and asked him to "drink a Dish of Tea, which he refused, but drank a glass of small beer." They then proceeded together in a hackney-coach to Tuttle Fields.

Here a most furious encounter took place, the evidence being that "they came up like Two Lions with their Pistols advanced, and when within four yards of each other discharged so equally together, that it could not be discovered which shot first."

According to another account[1] they advanced until the muzzles of their pistols touched, when Thornhill fired first, and Dering, having received the shot, discharged his pistol as he was falling, so that it went off into the air. At any rate, Dering fell dying; when Thornhill ran up to his former friend, and "embraced him, lifting up his hands and eyes with great concernment," reproaching himself, and wishing to be of use, and so on, while a doctor was sent for, and Sir Chomley, before his death, freely forgave Thornhill, and admitted that the misfortune was his own fault and of his own seeking. The event was the more sad as Dering was just about to be married.

About a week afterwards, on May 18th, Thornhill was put on his trial at the Old Bailey for murder, but many witnesses "of worth and quality" were called to testify that he was anything but of a quarrelsome disposition; while, on the contrary, Sir Cholmley Dering "was given to be unwarrantably contentious;" so that he was found guilty of manslaughter only.

This fatal duel made an immense sensation at the time; and Steele, in the "Spectator,"[2] represents Thornhill, under the name of "Spina-mont," as a prey to the keenest remorse for having slain his friend, and as bewailing the

[1] Swift's *Journal to Stella*, May 9th. [2] No. 84, 1711.

tyranny of social convention that had forced him to the deed. The facts of the case, however, as we have seen, indicate rather that he rejected Dering's apologies, and refused all his proffers of a reconciliation. That it was he, who was chiefly to blame, seems, at any rate, to have been the general impression at the time; and when, three months after, two men, with whom he had quarrelled at Hampton Court, followed him from that place, to Turnham Green, and there murdered him by stabbing him on horseback—telling him, in doing so, "to remember Sir Cholmley Dering" [1]—there were not wanting those, who thought that a very just retribution had overtaken him.

To the summer of the same year, 1711, is probably to be assigned another incident, of a very different nature, and originally of most trivial import, but which will be perpetuated, as long as the English language endures, by the imperishable fame with which it has been invested through the genius of Pope. We refer to the cutting off of a lock of a lady's hair, which occurred at Hampton Court about this time, and which led to the composition of the immortal poem, "The Rape of the Lock." The exact date of the occurrence, on which that airy poetic structure was founded, has nowhere been revealed, even amid the vast mass of critical comments which, for nearly two centuries, have been showered upon every line, allusion, and expression in that exquisite creation.

But from the facts that the first sketch of the poem was written in 1711, in less than a fortnight's time, and that it was conceived in response to the request of a friend, Mr. Caryll, to put an end to an estrangement that had arisen between two families, hitherto on terms of great intimacy and friendship, we may presume that the incident itself took place but a very short time previously.

[1] Swift's *Journal to Stella*, Aug. 21st, 1711.

The facts, so far as they transpierce the poetic glamour, with which they have been clothed, or can be derived from other sources,[1] were these :—One summer's day, there set out on an excursion to Hampton Court a party of friends, amongst whom were Lord Petre, "the Baron" of the poem, Sir George Brown of Berkshire, immortalized under the designation of "Sir Plume," Mrs. Morley, who figures as "Thalestris," and Miss Arabella Fermor, the heroine of the poem, under the name of "Belinda." These four friends, who by the way were all Catholics, were accompanied by one or two others, and started, probably from London, to go up the Thames, and spend the day at the Palace. Their progress up the river is exquisitely described in the verses :—

> But now secure the painted vessel glides,
> The sun-beams trembling on the floating tides ;
> While melting music steals upon the sky,
> And softened sounds along the waters die.
> Smooth flow the waves, the zephyrs gently play,
> Belinda smiled, and all the world was gay.

Arrived at Hampton Court, the company had dinner, whether in the Banqueting House, the Pavilions, some of the private apartments, or at the "Toy" inn, there is nothing to show ; and, afterwards, they sat down to play at the then fashionable game of ombre, described so wonderfully in the third canto of the poem as finally published. In the middle of the game utensils for coffee were brought in, and, as was the custom in those days, the ladies of the party roasted and ground the coffee-berry, and boiled the water :—

> For lo ! the board with cups and spoons is crowned,
> The berries crackle and the mill turns round ;
> On shining altars of Japan they raise
> The silver lamp ; the fiery spirits blaze.

[1] Elwin's *Pope*, vol. ii., p. 145.

From silver spouts the grateful liquors glide,
While China's earth receives the smoking tide.
At once they gratify their scent and taste,
And frequent cups prolong the rich repast.

¶ It was just after this that "the Baron," Lord Petre, with a pair of scissors belonging to "Clarissa," one of the ladies of the party, was tempted to cut a lock of Miss Fermor's hair, as she bent her beautiful head over her cup. The

"The Rape of the Lock."

(*From the engraving by Lud. du Guernier in the first edition of the completed poem, published in* 1714.)

accompanying plate affords a curious contemporary illustration of the scene.

The peer now spreads the glittering forfex wide,
T' inclose the lock; now joins it, to divide.
Ev'n then, before the fatal engine closed,
A wretched sylph too fondly interposed;

Fate urged the shears, and cut the sylph in twain
(But airy substance soon unites again).
The meeting points the sacred hair dissever
From the fair head, for ever, and for ever!

This liberty "the nymph," who was the victim of it, deeply resented; and Lord Petre refusing to restore the lock, a serious breach arose between the two families. Miss Fermor is made to deplore what had occurred in the following couplets:—

For ever cursed be this detested day,
Which snatched my best, my fav'rite curl away!
Happy! ah, ten times happy had I been
If Hampton Court these eyes had never seen!

The poem, however, attained its object, and effected the reconciliation it was written to bring about, by making, as Pope expresses it, a jest of it, and laughing them together.

This is not the place to enter into any careful gauging of the merits of the poem, or into the many discussions and disquisitions that have been lavished on the question of the use of the supernatural "machinery," and Pope's resulting quarrel with Addison on the subject. But we may draw attention to the fact, already adverted to, that, poetic excellence and merit altogether apart, "The Rape of the Lock" presents us with the most perfect picture in miniature possible, of life at Hampton Court during the reign of Queen Anne. We have already cited at the beginning of this chapter the opening lines of the third canto, beginning with the words, "Close by those meads," &c.: the verses that follow them, with their delicate irony on the fashionable frivolities of the inhabitants of Hampton Court at that time, give us a peep into the interior social life of the Palace, than which nothing could be more vivid:—

Hither the heroes and the nymphs resort
To taste awhile the pleasures of a court;
In various talk the instructive hours they passed,
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last;
One speaks the glory of the British Queen,
And one describes a charming Indian screen;
A third interprets motions, looks, and eyes;
At every word a reputation dies.
Snuff or the fan supply each pause of chat,
With singing, laughing, ogling, and all that.

Thus it comes about, that the subject-matter of these pages is associated with the most brilliant and exquisite mock-heroic poem in the English, or perhaps any, language, replete with all the subtlest delicacies of humour, satire, language, and invention, and redolent of the refined and airy graces of the artificial world, which it so intimately describes.

Hampton Court, in the autumn of the year 1711, was again visited for a short time by the Queen, who arrived on October 23rd, in a terrible storm of rain;[1] and here she entertained the envoys of the King of France. Swift would have liked to accompany the ministers hither; but, as he complained, "they have no lodgings for me there, so I can't go, for the town is small, chargeable and inconvenient."[2]

By the expression "the town" he seems to mean the small group of houses that clustered around the Palace gates, chief among which was, of course, the "Toy" inn, which we have spoken of a few pages back, and which, having at that time a monopoly of custom, was no doubt very "chargeable" when the court was at the Palace.

The Queen was at this time laid up with gout, and Swift writes to Stella,[3] saying, "She is now seldom without it any long time together; I fear it will wear her out in a very few

[1] Swift's *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 8th, Oct. 14th, and Oct. 25th, and *London Gazette*.

[2] Do., Nov. 1st and Nov. 3rd.

[3] Nov. 4th, 1711.

years"—a prognostication which was verified in less than three years. She was well enough, however, to receive in private audience, on November 6th, "Monsieur Lieth, Envoy Extraordinary from the Czar of Muscovy," who was introduced by Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, at that time one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.[1]

Anne remained in retirement at Hampton Court for a fortnight or more,[2] and on the 18th of November was visited in this Palace by the Duke of Marlborough on his return from abroad.

It was at this Palace, also, that there was indited by the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Lord Chamberlain, by Queen Anne's command, a meddlesome proclamation, which was issued on November 13th, for the reform of the "indecencies and disorders of the stage," her Majesty arbitrarily commanding "that no person of what quality soever, presume to stand behind the scenes or come upon the stage either before or during the acting of any opera or play," and declaring that those who disobeyed this injunction should be proceeded against as "contemners of our Royal authority and disturbers of the public peace."[3]

After this, in the last two or three years of Queen Anne's reign, there is no record of any further visit by her Majesty to Hampton Court, nor of any occurrence that need be noticed.

We may mention, however, an interesting account of the Palace and Gardens, as they appeared, at this period, to an intelligent excursionist, Ralph Thoresby, the topographer of Leeds, who visited them on July 11th, 1712, and who recorded his impressions in his diary.[4] With the gardens he was

[1] *London Gazette.*
[2] Swift's *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 15th and Nov. 22nd, 1711.
[3] *London Gazette.*
[4] Thoresby's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 133.

especially delighted, declaring that "nothing can be devised more agreeable," and admiring above all the "noble statues of brass and marble, particularly two noble vessels, upon which [are] ancient histories in bas-relief, supported by satyrs, set opposite to each other, being the proof of two great artists' emulation for glory." He noticed also the "curious iron balustrades, painted and gilt (in parts)," which separated the Park from the gardens. His admiration for the interior of the palace was equally great; but the value of his criticisms on the pictures may be estimated from the facts, that he speaks of Raphael's Cartoons as being "done by Michael Angelo," and considered Kneller's picture of William III. on horseback, as one of the greatest masterpieces in the world!

In the meantime, up to the death of the Queen, which it will be remembered took place on August 1st, 1714, improvements and alterations in the parks and gardens were carried on. Of these, one which was in hand during the last two years or so of the Queen's life, was the repair and redecoration of the Great Diana Fountain, and its erection in the centre of the Great Basin in Bushey Park. The work, which was under the care of Sir Christopher Wren, was begun in the month of November, 1712, and was still in hand at the end of the year 1713. It consisted of the new casting of the ornamental boys or cupids, and the mending and gilding of the whole fountain, including "the figure of Diana at the top, and the four nymphs, and four boys with dolphins in their hands, and four large shells."[1] The fountain was formerly, as we have mentioned above, in the Privy Garden, and is seen in Sutton Nicholl's view of the South Front, on page 44. The whole work, including the working and carving of the pedestal of stone on which the marble fountain stands, with its "pilasters, basons, fluted scrowls, frost work,

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. clxxxii., No. 18.

rustick work, water leaves," and the raising and fixing of the whole fountain and its figures and ornaments, amounted to £1,300 14*s.* 11¼*d.*

Another work, which was undertaken in the beginning of the last year of Queen Anne's reign, was the making of "a figure hedge-work, of very large evergreen plants in the Wilderness, to face the iron gates that are to be placed to take

The Lion Gates.

the middle line of the great avenue that runs through Bushey Park"[1]—a work which indicates that the idea of ever making the grand north entrance to the Palace, as projected by Sir Christopher Wren, had, by this time, been finally abandoned. The gates referred to are the "Lion Gates," of which we here annex a sketch, and the stone piers of

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. clxxix., No. 35.

which bear the initials of Queen Anne—"A. R." crowned. These piers had probably been erected earlier in the Queen's reign; and very magnificent gates of wrought iron, to be designed by Tijou, were intended to have been put up there between them, doubtless commensurate in height and size. We learn this from the editor of the second edition of Defoe's "Tour through Great Britain,"[1] who remarks: "How it came to be left unfinished, and the pitiful low gates, which by no means correspond with the pillars, put in the place, I could never learn." The death of Queen Anne was probably the cause; and that the existing iron gates were, at any rate, not erected during her reign, seems certain, as they bear the cypher of George I. in the central panel.

[1] Ed. 1742, vol. i., p. 268.

CHAPTER XIV.

GEORGE I. AND THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES AT HAMPTON COURT.

George I. arrives at Hampton Court—His fat ugly Mistresses—Madame Schulenburg, "the Maypole"—Madame Kilmansegge, "the Elephant and Castle"—Unpopularity of the German "Frows"—The Frau or "Frog" Walk—The King departs in his State Barge—Arrival of the Prince and Princess of Wales—The Queen's State Bedchamber—Its Ceiling painted by Sir James Thornhill—The Princess's gay Court—The Wits and Beauties—The Ladies-in-Waiting—Madge Bellenden and Molly Lepell—The Prince's Guineas scattered on the Floor—Amusements and Gaiety of the Court—The Bowling-Green and Pavilions—The German Ladies—Mrs. Howard's little Supper Parties—"The Swiss Cantons"—Pleasant Reminiscences of Hampton Court—Ballads, Epigrams, and "Frizelation"—The Princess slighted by Prince and Ministers—Sunderland's Rudeness—The Queen's Gallery—The Court leaves Hampton Court.

GEORGE I., not long after his arrival in England, removed from London to Hampton Court, thinking it a commodious place to which he might retire from his obnoxious subjects, and live undisturbed with his ill-favoured German mistresses.

In honour of his arrival, which took place about nine months after his accession, the Board of Works engaged the services of Richard Osgood, the statuary, whom we have already mentioned as doing work at Hampton Court,[1]

[1] See *ante*, p. 139.

to "model and cast in hard metal, two large sea-horses, and two large Tritons, to spout the water in the Great Bason or Fountain in Bushey Park at Hampton Court, . . . to play the water against the King's coming to Hampton Court"—the bills for which were entered and passed for £180, though not paid till nearly seven years after.[1]

The King, as we are told by the Comte de Broglio, who came over to England as ambassador from France, had no regard for the English people, never received in private any English of either sex, and was almost entirely ignorant of the language; none even of his principal officers were admitted to his chamber in the morning to dress him, nor in the evening to undress him, as had been the custom of the Court till his time.[2]

Here, accordingly, at a distance from London, and with no royal duties to discharge, he felt himself thoroughly at home, and "His sacred majesty spent many hours of the day in the sweet companionship of his ugly fat mistresses, who cut out figures in paper for his royal diversion, whilst he, forgetful of the cares of state, lit his pipe and smoked placidly, now and then laughing and clapping his hands when Schulenburg had, in cutting out a figure, hit on some peculiarity of feature or figure in a courtier or minister."[3]

Madame Schulenburg, who thus beguiled King George's leisure hours, was of a yellow complexion, and so unusually tall and lank as to be popularly known as the "Maypole." She was created by the King, Duchess of Kendal. His other mistress, who kept him company in his retirement at Hampton Court, was Madame Kilmansegge, afterwards Countess of Darlington and Leinster, derisively

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. clxxxii., No. 18, and vol. cccxxxix., No. 36.

[2] *La Correspondance Secrète du Comte de Broglio.* To the King of France, July 6th, 1724.

[3] Molloy's *Court Life below Stairs*, vol. i., p. 47.

called by the populace, in allusion to her great size, the "Elephant and Castle." Horace Walpole, who was much frightened when he, as quite a child, was introduced to her, tells us: "Her enormous figure was as corpulent and ample as the Duchess of Kendal's was long and emaciated. Two fierce black eyes, large and rolling, beneath two lofty arched eyebrows; two acres of cheek spread with crimson; an ocean of neck, that overflowed and was not distinguished from the lower part of her body, and no part restrained by stays: no wonder that a child dreaded such an ogress."[1]

These two ladies, and George's other foreign followers, contributed in no small degree to render him unpopular with the lower classes in England; for while they could view with no very censorious eye the amorous peccadilloes of the Merry Monarch, who selected for his mistresses a Castlemaine or a Nell Gwynne, they had no sort of toleration for a king, who was so undiscriminating in his amours as not to palliate his vices by the youth and beauty of its objects. "We are ruined by trulls," was the common complaint, "and what is worse, by old ugly ones too." And there was no end to the satires, squibs, and sarcasms hurled at the odious German "frows."[2]

One day, Madame Schulenburg was being carried out in a sedan chair, and hearing some noise, put her head out of the window and said, "Good pipple, why you abuse us? we come for all your goods?" "Yes, damn ye!" replied a stout fellow in the crowd, "and for our chattels too."[3]

Of these ladies Hampton Court has scarcely any reminiscences; but it is perhaps to them that the walk under the wall of the tilt-yard, near the palace gate, is indebted for its name of the "Frog Walk." The tradition is that they

[1] Walpole's *Reminiscences.*
[2] Mist's *Journal*, May 27th, 1721.
[3] Walpole's *Reminiscences.*

used to promenade up and down, beneath the broad spreading branches of the chestnut and elm trees there, waiting for the return of the King, when he had ridden or driven out; and that it was thence designated *Frau* or *Frow* walk, which was corrupted by the commoner people, by mistake or in derision, into the name "Frog Walk," by which it is known to this day. It is more likely, however, that the Fraus, who gave this name to the walk, were those in attendance on the wife of the Stadtholder of Holland, who, when driven from his native land by the French Revolution in 1795, found, as we shall see, an asylum for himself and his family in this palace.

The only occasions on which George I. appeared in any state, was on his arrival at or his departure from the palace. When he returned to London he walked, or was carried in a sedan chair, to the riverside, with six footmen in front, and six yeomen of the guard behind; while following him came his two ugly mistresses in their chairs carried by servants in royal livery. They were accompanied by the courtiers and attendants; and the whole party embarked in state barges hung with coloured cloths; while his Majesty's musicians, in their barge, played music as they floated down the stream.

This agreeable mode of travelling to and from Hampton Court, was the favourite one with the Prince of Wales, who, in the summer of 1716, when the King went to Hanover, was appointed regent, and allowed by the King to reside at Hampton Court. Here, accordingly, they established themselves; and during their sojourn they lived in semi-regal state, and made use of the beautiful suite of apartments in the eastern range of the new palace, formerly occupied by Queen Anne, and still known as the Queen's State Rooms.

Of the State Bedchamber we append a sketch. The

ceiling had just been painted by Mr., afterwards Sir James, Thornhill, who had succeeded Verrio and Laguerre as a decorator of palaces and public buildings. It was by Halifax's influence that Thornhill was employed. The Duke of Shrewsbury, whom we have mentioned before in connection with William III., and who had once more become Lord Chamberlain on George I.'s accession, intended that it should be executed by Sebastian Ricci; but Halifax, who was then First Commissioner of the Treasury, preferring his own countryman, told the Duke that "if Ricci painted it he would not pay him."[1] The power of the purse, of course, prevailed, and Thornhill was given the commission.

The work must have been executed in the earlier part of 1715; for, on the 20th of October of that year, we find Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, and Sir Charles Dartiquenave,[2] the officers of His Majesty's Works, reporting to the Lords of the Treasury on Thornhill's petition for payment "for the painting of the bedroom of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Hampton Court." They stated that they considered it "skilfully and laboriously performed," and they were "of opinion that £457 10*s.* might be allowed him, including all gilding, decoration, and history painting, being at the rate of £3 11*s.* per yard, which price is inferior to what was always allowed Seignior Vario, for works, in our opinion, not so well executed."[3] Verrio was generally allowed 8*s.* per square foot, which, after all, is almost exactly at the same rate as the above.

[1] Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

[2] Dartiquenave, or Dartineuf, was Paymaster of the Board. He was an epicure, and is frequently noticed in the works of Swift and Pope. He was supposed to be a natural son of Charles II. In 1688 he purchased a moiety of the Keepership of Bushey Park, during the lifetime of the Duchess of Cleveland. See also Elwin's *Pope*, vol. iii., p. 292.

[3] *Treasury Papers*, vol. cxcii., No. 68.

The Queen's State Bedchamber, showing the Ceiling painted by Sir James Thornhill in 1715.

This ceiling is, in truth, the best at Hampton Court. The design shows Aurora rising out of the ocean in her golden chariot, drawn by four white horses, and attended by cupids; below are Night and Sleep. In the cornice are portraits of George I., with the crown, over the bed; of Caroline, Princess of Wales, over the fireplace; of George II., as Prince of Wales, opposite his wife, and of their son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, at this time a boy of nine years of age, over the window.

The bedroom is 30 feet long by 25½ feet broad, and 30 feet high. The bed, with furniture to match, which, as we remarked in a previous chapter, is believed to have been Queen Anne's, and was doubtless used by the Prince and Princess of Wales when occupying the Palace this summer, has remained undisturbed ever since. The material has suffered much from age, but it reveals, when closely inspected, a workmanship of great delicacy.

A beautiful chandelier of silver, elaborately decorated with glass balls, hangs from the centre of the ceiling.

Here, at Hampton Court, their Royal Highnesses, on this occasion at any rate, were determined to show how gracious and amiable they could be; and how gay and splendid a court they could hold. Their motive was, doubtless, to exhibit a sharp contrast to the stiff formality of the King's conduct, which had already excited disgust in England.

Accordingly, we find that all that England could then boast of wit, intelligence, and beauty, was welcomed at the palace. Here came Philip Dormer, Lord Stanhope, afterwards third Earl of Chesterfield, who had been appointed, the year before, a gentleman of the bedchamber to the Prince, and who, though but twenty years of age, was already acknowledged as without a rival in that brilliant wit for which he became so famous; Carr, Lord Hervey, and his

more celebrated, though not more clever brother, John; Lord Scarborough, Charles Churchill, brother of the Duke of Marlborough, and many others. Among the ladies were Lady Walpole, Sir Robert's wife, Mrs. Selwyn, mother of the well-known George, and the famous Mrs. Howard, so well known to history as the mistress of George II., and so often celebrated in the poems of Pope, Swift, and Gay, with whom she was in frequent correspondence. It was about this time that the Prince's attentions to her were first of such a nature as to attract notice and create scandal; and it was at Hampton Court that she was first regularly looked upon as the Prince's established mistress.

But the most delightful members of that charming society were the beautiful and vivacious Ladies-in-Waiting to the Princess, and especially those two paragons, Miss Bellenden and Miss Lepell. Of Miss Mary Bellenden, who, with her sister Margaret, was celebrated by Gay,

> Madge Bellenden, the tallest of the land,
> And smiling Mary, soft and fair as down,[1]

Walpole, in his account of the society which used to meet in Mrs. Howard's apartments in the Palace, says: "Above all for universal admiration was Miss Bellenden. Her face and person were charming, lively she was almost to *étourderie*, and so agreeable that she was never afterwards mentioned by her contemporaries but as 'the most perfect creature they had ever known.'"[2]

It was not to be expected that the Prince should be insensible to such charms. But the lively lady-in-waiting met his Royal Highness's advances with singular spirit and pertness. She records herself, how she used to stand in his presence, with her arms saucily crossed before her, and when he

[1] *Welcome to Pope from Greece.*

[2] Walpole's *Reminiscences.*

asked her whether her hands were cold, she told him they were not, but that "she crossed them because she liked to stand so."[1] The Prince, however, was a persevering admirer; and never ceased to ply her with attentions, without receiving anything in return but saucy remarks or playful scorn.

It has been said, and it is not at all improbable, that it was at Hampton Court that occurred the following well-known scene. One evening the Prince, while sitting by her, took out his purse and began counting his money, his Royal Highness thinking in this manner to excite her avarice and tempt her virtue by the display of the golden coin. As he did so he kept glancing at her, pausing in his occupation, as if to watch the effect it was producing; until Miss Bellenden, impatient at this tiresome proceeding, or perhaps suspecting the flagrantly insulting nature of his intentions, cried out, "Sir, I can bear it no longer; if you count your money any more, I shall go out of the room."[2] But the gallant Prince was not to be put off by so distinct a repulse even as this. He continued to pester her with his attentions, until one day, finding her alone in one of the drawing-rooms, he followed her about again, counting out his money; when she, turning round suddenly, with a dexterous motion of her foot or hand, sent his Royal Highness's guineas rolling on the floor, and ran out of the room, leaving him to go down on his knees to pick them up.[3]

There was also at Hampton Court this year her friend and companion, "youth's youngest daughter, sweet Lepell," who, in the estimation of most persons, equalled, if she did not excel her, in all these courtly charms:—

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 62.
[2] Walpole's *Reminiscences and Memoirs of George II.*, p. 153.
[3] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 62. I have inserted this second incident with some hesitation, as it seems to be only an embroidered version of the story as told by Horace Walpole.

What pranks are played behind the scenes,
And who at court the belle ;
Some swear it is the Bellenden,
And others say Lepell.[1]

"Dear Molly Lepell," as Pope called her, was indeed endowed—if we are to credit the unanimous testimony of all her contemporaries, such as Pope, Gay, and Chesterfield—with every charm, that can engage affection and regard. Her beauty was only equalled by the vivaciousness of her manner, and the brilliancy and wit of her conversation ; and Lord Chesterfield, who was no mean judge on such a question, declared that she was a perfect model of the finely-polished, high-bred, genuine woman of fashion. "She had been bred," he says, "all her life at courts, of which she has acquired all the easy good-breeding, and the politeness, without the frivolousness. No woman ever had more than she had 'le ton de la parfaitement bonne compagnie, les manières engageantes, et le je-ne-sçais-quoi qui plait.'"

In the summer of this year these charming maids of honour had every opportunity of exercising their social talents. Every day was absorbed by one long round of amusement and gaiety. In the morning the Prince and Princess usually went on the river in barges finely carved and gilt, and hung with crimson silk curtains.[2] As they were rowed along by the stout oarsmen dressed in the royal liveries, something of the restraint that royalty imposes was discarded in the flow of wit and repartee, and the lively chatter of the maids of honour ; or, perhaps, they sang a glee or a ballad, while the plash of the oars was stilled for a few minutes as they floated idly down the stream.

In the middle of the day they came home, when the Prince and Princess dined in public in the Princess's apart-

[1] Pope.
[2] Lady Cowper's *Diary*, p. 121, *et seq.* ; Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i.

The Pavillions Clinging to the Bowling Green at the End of the Terras Walk, at HAMPTON COURT. Les pavillons du Boulingrin, au bout de la Terrasse, a HAMPTON COURT.

London Printed for John Bowles, N.° 13 in Cornhill, & Rob.t Sayer at the Golden Buck in Fleet Street & Covington, Bowles, & Sayer in St Dunstans Church Yard

ments with the whole court, the lady-in-waiting serving at table. In the afternoon the Princess saw company, or read and wrote letters; and later on, as evening came on, usually walked for two or three hours in the gardens.[1] The rest of the court found occupation in strolling among the fountains, and beneath the shady lime-groves, or in loitering by the water edge of the canals; or they repaired to the bowling-green at the end of the terrace walk by the riverside, reminding one of the lines in Dryden :—

> Hither in summer evenings you repair
> To taste the fraicheur of the cooler air.

Some of the gentlemen played bowls, while the rest looked on with the ladies, or strolled along the terrace, to gaze over the wall at the Thames flowing beneath, or sat flirting in the shady nooks and arbours, that were judiciously disposed around. The four pavilions, also, that stood at each corner of the bowling-green, were adapted for intimate converse. They were fitted up as drawing-rooms, boudoirs, and card rooms, where those who would, might join in a game of ombre or commerce, or sip coffee or tea, while listening to some fair musician accompanying herself to one of Lansdowne's songs on the spinet.

Here they lingered long into the evening; and the Prince, we make no doubt, was frequently of these parties, dangling after Miss Bellenden and Mrs. Howard. The Princess, too, after her evening walk, often joined the company, and would stay playing cards at the Pavilions till long after dark. But one rainy and dark night the Countess of Buckenburgh, one of the German ladies, who was very fat, tripped and fell as she was walking home, and put her foot out of joint, and after that accident the Princess did not stay so late, but often

[1] Lady Cowper's *Diary*, p. 125, which gives a circumstantial relation of the court life at Hampton Court this summer.

had cards in the Queen's Gallery from nine till about half-past ten, to which she commanded a few of the inhabitants of the Palace. The old Duchess of Monmouth, "whom the Princess loved mightily," used often to be there, in spite of her years and many afflictions, still full of all the life and fire of youth.

Sometimes, also, the Princess used to ask company to sup with her in the Countess of Buckenburgh's chamber.[1] That lady, and indeed most of the German followers of the court, detested the English, and were always loud in their abuse. On one occasion she declared before several English ladies that "English women do not look like women of quality, but make themselves look as pitifully and sneaking as they can; they hold their heads down and look always in a fright, whereas foreigners hold up their heads, and hold out their breasts, and make themselves look as great and stately as they can, and more nobly and more like quality than you English." To which Lady Deloraine, with a sarcastic reference to the countess's corpulence, replied, "We show our quality by our birth and titles, madam, and not by sticking out our bosoms."[2]

While the Princess received in the state rooms, such of the ladies and gentlemen of the court, as had not received the royal summons, made up parties in the private apartments of the palace to spend the evenings. Of these gatherings, Mrs. Howard's little supper parties were the most frequented and celebrated; and her apartments (which were known by her most intimate friends as the "Swiss Cantons," and herself as "the Swiss," perhaps on account of the neutral position which her prudence and discretion enabled her to maintain at court) became the fashionable *rendezvous* of all the brilliant wits and beauties in the palace, to whom we

[1] Lady Cowper's *Diary*, p. 125.

[2] Do., p. 102.

have already referred, and who were attracted by her social talents and charms.

Where Mrs. Howard's rooms were situated, cannot, unfortunately, be exactly determined. But we may be pretty sure that they were in the eastern range of the new palace, and not improbably in the Round Window, or Queen's "Half-Storey," over the Queen's apartments, at this time, as we have said, occupied by the Princess. A direct communication with the Queen's State Bedchamber existed by means of a curious old staircase in an ante-room,[1] which could itself be approached from the Queen's back stairs. In the Queen's half-storey, at any rate, we may presume, lived the maids of honour, and up and down the Queen's back stairs they must often have gone, recalling the lines in the "Excellent New Ballad"—

> But Bellenden we needs must praise,
> Who, as downstairs she jumps,
> Sings o'er the hills and far away,
> Despising doleful dumps.[2]

It was, indeed, a pleasant time, which long dwelt in the remembrance of those who took a part in its enjoyments. Of this we have many testimonies. Miss Howe, who was a maid of honour, and one of the wittiest of them, and certainly the greatest flirt at the palace at this time, thought that no other life was worth living. When she went away to spend a month or two in the country, she wrote from her retreat to a friend:—"One good thing I have got by the long time I have been here, which is, being more sensible than ever I was of my happiness in being a maid of honour. I won't say God preserve me so neither: that would not

[1] This room is now converted into a museum, formed by the author, of old prints and carvings and other curiosities relating to the palace.

[2] Jesse's *Court of England*, vol. ii., p. 437.

be so well."[1] It was to her that Pope addressed the lines in answer to the question, What is prudery?—

'Tis a beldam
Seen with youth and beauty seldom.
'Tis an ugly envious shrew
That rails at dear Lepell and you.

Giles Earle, also, who belonged to Mrs. Howard's set, and afterwards became groom of the bedchamber to the Prince, writes to her the following summer, Aug. 10th, 1717, when the King and Prince were at Hampton Court together, saying, "Would to God I was at Hampton Court; I stupify myself by eternally thinking of that place."[2] Miss Bellenden, also, a few years after,[3] when she had married Colonel Campbell, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, in a letter to Mrs. Howard, says: "I wish we were all in the *Swiss Cantons* again." And nearly twelve years after, Miss Lepell, in the meanwhile married to John, Lord Hervey, whom she used to meet at Hampton Court, dwells fondly on the reminiscences of the old days. She writes, in answer to a letter from Mrs. Howard from Hampton Court, as follows[4]:—

The place your letter was dated from recalled a thousand agreeable things to my remembrance, which I flatter myself I do not quite forget. I wish I could persuade myself that you regret them, or that you could think the tea-table more welcome in the morning if attended, as formerly, by the Schatz [a nickname given to Lady Hervey when Miss Lepell]. If that were possible, it would be the means (and the only one at this time) to make me exchange Ickworth for any other dwelling in England. I really believe a frizelation [flirtation] would be a surer means of restoring my spirits, than the exercise and hartshorn I now make use of. I do not suppose that name still subsists; but pray let me know if the thing itself

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 41.
[2] Do., vol. i., p. 15.
[3] Oct. 22nd, 1721. Do., vol. i., p. 82.
[4] Do., vol. i., p. 320. From Ickworth, Aug. 31st, 1728.

does, or if they meet in the same cheerful manner to sup as formerly. Are ballads and epigrams the consequence of those meetings? Is good sense in the morning, and wit in the evening, the subject, or rather the foundation of the conversation? That is an unnecessary question; I can answer it myself, since I know you are of the party, but, in short, do not you want poor *Tom* (herself) and *Bellenden* (Mary Bellenden) as much as I want *Swiss* in the first place, and them?

I pass my mornings at present as much like those at Hampton Court as I can, for I divide them between walking, and the people of the best sense of their time: but the difference is, my present companions [books] are dead, and the others are quite alive. If you would have the good nature to add, by your letter, the charms of Hampton Court to the pleasures of Ickworth, they will be received and acknowledged with gratitude by, dear Mrs. Howard,

Your faithful humble servant,

M. HERVEY.

And in another letter to Mrs. Howard, a few days after, she says:[1]—

My spirits, which you know were once very good, are so much impaired, that I question if even Hampton Court breakfasts could recover them, or revive the *Schatz* (herself), who is extinguished in a fatigued nurse, a grieved sister, and a melancholy wife.

Outsiders, however, who did not belong to Mrs. Howard's select coterie, found the time hang more heavily on their hands. "Hampton Court," says Lady Cowper, lady of the bedchamber to the Princess, writing from here on August 18th, "is very little entertaining to me, except the pleasure of being with our dear mistress, when you are not here. You know I have very little acquaintance among them."[2]

At the same time, the discordant element of politics was not entirely banished from the scene. The ministers were at Hampton Court a good deal—including Sir Robert Wal-

[1] Oct. 7th. Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 324.

[2] *Memoirs of Lady Sundon*, vol. i., p. 334.

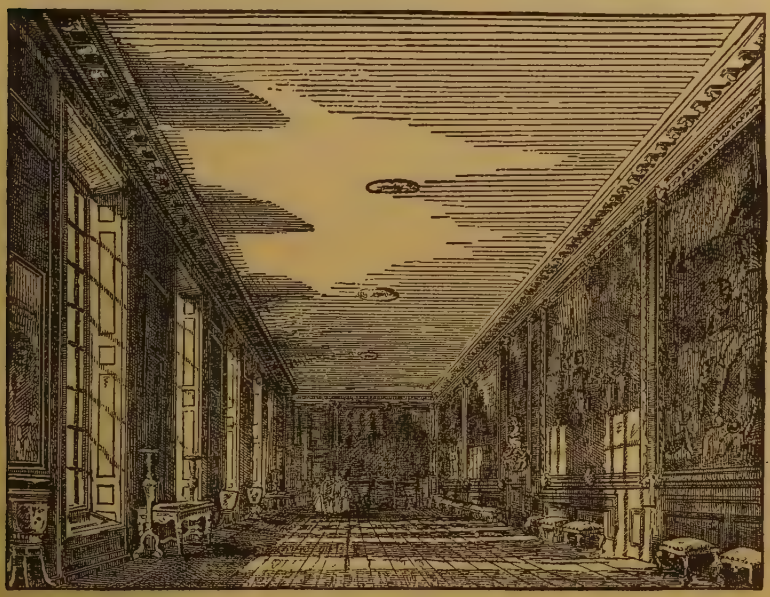
pole, Lord Methuen, and the Lord Chancellor Finch, Earl of Nottingham; while George I.'s German minister and favourite, Count Bothmar, was here the whole time. He was left in England by the King as a sort of spy on the Prince, "to keep all things in order, and to give an account of everything that was doing." Lord Townshend, also, and his family were at the palace constantly, and he thereby "found means to insinuate himself mightily into the favour of the Prince, but left the Princess quite out, even to the showing her all the contempt in the world." On the other hand, he took care to pay his court to Mrs. Howard and Miss Bellenden, so that, says Lady Cowper, "When I came to Hampton Court, I was never so surprised in my life as to see that so little respect was shown to the Princess."

Her ladyship was so exercised about the matter, that she exerted herself to have it represented to Lord Townshend, by her husband and others, "how wrong this usage of the Princess was, and how much it was for their interest and advantage to get her on their side." This had the desired effect, and from that time he quite altered his demeanour towards her Royal Highness, "to the great pleasure of those who had been concerned in the thing. This brought the Princess into perfect tranquillity."[1]

Lord Sunderland, who was another of the King's friends, and was commissioned by the ministry to go over to Hanover, with the object of urging the King to come back soon, was also seen at the palace occasionally; and he seems, like Townshend, to have been disposed to treat the Princess with a very inadequate degree of deference. He was to go about the middle of August, but before he started he came down to take his leave. The Princess received him in the Queen's Gallery, and some political topic being touched on,

[1] Lady Cowper's *Diary*, p. 123.

they had so loud and heated a conversation, that she desired him to speak lower, for the people in the garden would hear; to which he rudely answered, "Let them hear." To this the Princess replied, "Well, if you have a mind, let 'em; but you shall walk next the windows, for, in the



The Queen's Gallery.

humour we both are, one of us must certainly jump out at the window, and I'm resolved it sha'n't be me."

Of the room in which this interview occurred, and which is one of the finest in the new Palace—being 81 feet long by 25 feet broad, and having seven large windows abutting east on the Great Fountain Garden—we here insert a sketch. It is probable that, like the State Bedchamber at the end of

it, which we described at the beginning of this chapter, it had remained unfinished until the early years of the reign of George I.; and it was not, at any rate, until then that the tapestry, with which it is now decorated, was hung on its walls.

The tapestries, which consist of a series of seven pieces from the celebrated designs of Charles Le Brun, illustrative of the life of Alexander the Great, were, it seems, purchased by General, afterwards Lord Cadogan, in Flanders or Holland, probably when he was ambassador to the Hague, for a very small sum, and set up here by order of George I. They may have been worked at the Gobelin manufactory, where many sets were executed from Le Brun's cartoons, under his personal supervision, during his tenure of the directorship; or perhaps they were the products of the looms at Brussels: in any case, the workmen were Flemings. Le Brun's own paintings from the same designs, which were very finely engraved by Gerard Audran, are well known.

On the 28th of October, 1716, the Court left Hampton Court, the ladies going by water in a barge with the Prince and Princess. "The day was wonderfully fine, and nothing in the world could be pleasanter than the passage, nor give one a better idea of the riches and happiness of this kingdom."[1]

[1] Lady Cowper's *Diary*, p. 126. See also Defoe's *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, vol. i., p. 5.

CHAPTER XV.

GEORGE I.—THEATRICALS IN THE GREAT HALL.

King George and the Prince of Wales at Hampton Court together—Overpowering Dulness of the Court—Pope's Visit to Hampton Court—He describes the Life of a Maid of Honour—Quarrel between the King and his Son—"Cette Diablesse la Princesse"—Secret Interview between her and her Bedchamber Woman at the Pavilions—The Prince and Princess retire from Court—A Theatre in the Great Hall—The Royal Company of Actors—The Plays acted—The Demeanour of the Audience—Shakespeare's "Henry VIII."—King George chuckles with Satisfaction at appropriate Passages—Cibber's Account of the Arrangements—Fees and Gratuities to the Actors—Dismissal of Sir Christopher Wren—His House on the Green at Hampton Court—William Benson, the new Surveyor-General—Charges of Jobbery against the Clerk of the Works at Hampton Court—Wren's dignified Protest—Benson's Incompetence—His Expulsion from Office—Closing Years of Wren's Life at Hampton Court—His Death—Apartments in the Palace irregularly occupied—King George's strong Injunctions against the Practice—Reconciliation of the two Courts.

HAMPTON COURT, in the month of August, 1717, was again visited by the Prince and Princess of Wales and all their suite, as well as by the King.[1] But the presence of his Majesty did not at all conduce to the cheerfulness of the Palace. On the contrary, the endeavours of his son and daughter-in-law in this direction met with no encouragement, and, indeed, were entirely neutralized, by the overwhelming dulness which

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 15; *Memoirs of Lady Sundon*, vol. i., p. 330.

pervaded every place where George I. ever resided. Besides, he regarded with no sort of favour the efforts which the Prince and Princess were making to gather a court about them, and to acquire popularity by their gaiety and condescension. Pope, who came to visit Hampton Court at this time, records his impressions of the dreariness of the life at court in a letter to Teresa and Martha Blount, written on September 13th, 1717[1]:—

I went by water to Hampton Court, unattended by all but my own virtues, which were not of so modest a nature as to keep themselves, or me, concealed; for I met the Prince with all his ladies, on horseback, coming from hunting. Mrs. B. [Bellenden] and Mrs. L. [Lepell] took me into protection, contrary to the laws against harbouring papists, and gave me a dinner, with something I liked better, an opportunity of conversing with Mrs. H[oward]. We all agreed that the life of a Maid of Honour was of all things the most miserable: and wished that every woman who envied it had a specimen of it. To eat Westphalia ham in a morning, ride over hedges and ditches on borrowed hacks, come home in the heat of the day with a fever, and (what is worse a hundred times) with a red mark on the forehead from an uneasy hat! all this may qualify them to make excellent wives for foxhunters, and bear abundance of ruddy complexioned children. As soon as they can wipe off the sweat of the day, they must simper an hour and catch cold in the Princess's apartment; from thence (as Shakespeare has it) to dinner, with what appetite they may;—and after that, till midnight, walk, work, or think, which they please. I can easily believe no lone house in Wales, with a mountain and a rookery, is more contemplative than this Court; and as a proof of it, I need only tell you Miss L[epell] walked with me three or four hours by moonlight, and we met no creature of any quality but the King, who gave audience to the Vice-Chamberlain, all alone, under the garden walk.

In short, I heard of no ball, assembly, basset table, or any

[1] Elwin and Courthope's *Pope*, vol. ix., pp. 272-4. This letter was originally published in the edition of Pope's works of 1735, not republished in 4to., but reappeared in Cooper, 1737. The original, Mr. Carruthers states, exists at Mapledurham, and is dated as above.

place, where two or three were gathered together, except Madam Kilmansegg's, to which I had the honour to be invited, and the grace to stay away.

In another letter of Pope's to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, assigned to the summer of the following year, 1718, there is a similar passage, with curious variations :—

Our gallantry and gaiety have been great sufferers by the rupture of the two courts here : scarce any ball, assembly, basset-table, or any place where two or three are gathered together. No lone house in Wales, with a rookery, is more contemplative than Hampton Court. I walked there the other day by the moon, and met no creature of quality but the King, who was giving audience all alone to the birds under the garden wall.[1]

In the meanwhile, the differences between the King and the Prince, which had been smouldering for some time, were now about to break out into an open flame. The exact cause of the quarrel is unknown, but it is probable that the King conceived a jealousy of his son showing so much fondness for acting the king, and being so eager to win popular favour ; while towards his daughter-in-law, whom he was accustomed to speak of as "cette diablesse la Princesse," he had always nourished an inveterate dislike. This state of ill-feeling doubtless rendered necessary the secrecy of the interview at the Pavilions between the Princess and her bed-chamber woman, Mrs. Clayton, which is alluded to in a letter to her from Lady Cowper at Hampton Court.[2]

Wednesday, one o'clock.

DEAR MADAM,

I have made all your compliments to our dear Princess, who loves you mightily, and desires you would not come hither unless you find you can do it with safety ; and she has ordered me to tell you, that if you do think of coming, she desires it may be by

[1] Elwin and Courthope's *Pope*, vol. ix., p. 395.

[2] Thomson's *Memoirs of Lady Sundon*, vol. i., p. 332.

water, and that you would be here by nine o'clock in the morning, and if you will give her notice of the day you will come, she will meet you in the garden-house, at the end of the terrace, that nobody may see you.

At any rate, after they had spent a couple of months with the King at Hampton Court, the mutual relations of the various members of the Royal Family became so strained, that the Prince and Princess, with their attendants and adherents, retired altogether from the Palace, leaving the King behind. He remained on here till November, in which month the Princess gave birth at St. James's to a son, afterwards the Duke of Cumberland. The news was brought down by Carr, Lord Hervey, gentleman of the Prince's bedchamber, who announced it to the King.[1] But no other communication took place between the two branches of the family; and shortly after the quarrel grew so bitter, that the King put a notice into the "Gazette" that he would not receive at his Court anyone who should visit the Prince.[2]

When the King visited Hampton Court again, in the summer of the succeeding year, 1718, the Prince held an opposition Court at Richmond. His Majesty's, however, was, for this one occasion at least, the gayer of the two; for he had ordered a theatre to be erected in the Great Hall, where he intended that plays should be acted twice a week during this summer, by the King's Company of Actors. But the theatre taking longer to finish than had been anticipated, it was not until nearly the end of September that it was ready, so that only seven plays in all were given in it before the Court returned to town.[3] It was opened on the 23rd of September, with "Hamlet;" and on the 1st of October, "Henry VIII., or the Fall of Wolsey," was represented on the very spot which

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 17.
[2] Do., vol. i., p. 18.
[3] Colley Cibber's *Apology for his Life*, ed. 1740, p. 447.

had been the scene of the Cardinal's greatest splendour. The other plays were: "Sir Courtly Nice," on the 6th of October; "The Constant Couple," on the 9th; "Love for Money," on the 13th; "Volpone, or the Fox," on the 16th; and "Rule a Wife and have a Wife," on the 22nd.[1]

After one of the first performances, Miss Bradshawe, a lady attached to the Prince's Court, and described as "an old maid of more gaiety than delicacy," writes from Richmond, saying, "Our world is extremely dull; though I hear there are brave doings at Hampton Court. I was much importuned to go on Tuesday to the play, but I have no notion of serving two masters."[2]

The Royal Company of Actors, otherwise known as the Drury Lane company, included Colley Cibber, Barton Booth, Mills, Wilkes, the famous Mrs. Oldfield, Mrs. Porter, and Miss Younger. Cibber, in his amusing Apology for his life, remarks of the theatricals here, "This throwing open a theatre in a royal palace, seemed to be reviving the old English hospitable grandeur, where the lowest ranks of neighbouring subjects might make merry at Court, without being laughed at themselves." "Still," as he goes on to observe, "a play presented at Court or acted on the public stage is a very different entertainment. For at Court, where the Prince gives the treat, and honours it with his own presence, the audience is under the restraint of a circle where laughter or applause raised higher than a whisper would be stared at. This coldness and decency," he continues, "of attention at Court, I observed, had but a melancholy effect upon the impatient vanity of some of our actors, who seemed inconsolable when their flashy endeavours to please had passed unheeded: their not considering where they were

[1] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 67.

[2] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 29. The date of Miss Bradshawe's letter is given as September 4th, perhaps a misprint for October 4th.

quite disconcerted them; nor could they recover their spirits till from the lowest rank of the audience some gaping John or Joan in the fulness of their hearts roared out their approbation."

However, they had, properly speaking, but one auditor to please, and that he was very often pleased, in spite of his imperfect knowledge of English, could be seen from the satisfaction in his looks at particular scenes and passages. One instance of this was particularly noticeable in the play of "Henry VIII.," of which George I. was especially fond, and which he ordered, with a view, doubtless, to its suitability to the place associated with Wolsey's greatness and splendour. In the first act, it will be remembered, the King commands the Cardinal to write circular letters of indemnity into every county, where the payment of certain heavy taxes had been disputed; upon which the Cardinal whispers the following directions to his secretary Cromwell:

> A word with you;
> Let there be letters writ in every shire
> Of the King's grace and pardon. The grieved Commons
> Hardly conceive of me; let it be noised,
> That, through our intercession, this revokement
> And pardon comes: I shall anon advise you
> Farther in the proceeding.

The solicitude of the minister in filching from his master the grace and merit of the pardon, and making out that he was the author of it, suggested to George I. such parallels among his own ministers, that he never failed to smile in approbation of its appropriateness. This little trait is recorded by Colley Cibber, whose proper stand when he himself spoke the lines, in the character of the Cardinal, required him to be near the box where the King sat.

So gratified, indeed, was his Majesty with the whole performance, that Sir Richard Steele,—who held with Wilkes

the patent of the royal company of comedians, and who wrote a very fine prologue to these theatricals, describing the King exactly, "not as he was, but as he should have been,"[1]—when asked by "a grave nobleman," after this play was presented at Hampton Court, how the King liked it, replied: "So terribly well, my lord, that I was afraid I should have lost all my actors; for I was not sure the King would not keep them to fill the posts at Court that he saw them so fit for in the play."[2]

It may well be imagined that giving plays at such a distance from London could not but be attended with extraordinary expenses. Cibber, therefore, proceeds to give us a particular account of what they were, "that in case the same entertainments should at any time hereafter be called to the same place, future Courts may judge how far the precedent may stand good or need an alteration."

One of the points of precedent was that the King should bear the whole expense, as it was, of course, inconsistent with the dignity attaching to a Royal Palace, that money should be taken at the door. The stated fee for a play acted at Whitehall had been formerly only £20; but as that did not hinder the company's acting on the same day at the public theatre, that sum was almost all clear profit to them. But this not being practicable when they were commanded to Hampton Court, the managers said they should hold themselves ready to act any play, at a day's warning, provided the other actors were allowed each their day's pay and travelling charges, the managers themselves desiring "no consideration for their own labour, farther than the honour of being employed in his Majesty's commands."

To this the Lord Chamberlain assented, and arranged at the same time that the household music, the wax lights, and

[1] Montgomery's *Life of Steele*, vol. ii., p. 170.

[2] Colley Cibber's *Apology*, *ubi supra*.

a *chaise-marine,* to carry the moving wardrobe for each different play, should be under the charge of the proper officers in the King's household. Notwithstanding this, the expense of every play amounted to £50; which sum, when all was over, was allowed them. And, in addition to this, "His Majesty was graciously pleased to give the managers £200 more, for their particular performance and trouble in only seven times acting." This gratuity, though not, perhaps, too much for a sovereign prince to give, was, in old Cibber's opinion, more than their utmost merit ought to have hoped for; and he confesses that when he received the order for the money from the Duke of Newcastle, then Lord Chamberlain, he was so surprised that he imagined "his grace's favour or recommendation of their readiness or diligence must have contributed to so high a consideration of it;" and was offering his acknowledgments, when he was stopped short by the Duke, who, perhaps taking a hint from the King's demeanour in regard to the lines quoted above, told him that they were under obligation to no one but to the King himself, "who had given it from no other motive than his own bounty."[1]

The theatre in the Great Hall was never used again after this, except once in the year 1731, as we shall notice under that date. The stage, nevertheless, continued to block up the Hall till the year 1798, when James Wyatt, then Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, obtained George III.'s permission to remove it, which was accordingly done, and the Hall restored to its original form and beauty, as we now see it.[2]

The mention of the Surveyor-General of the Board of Works reminds us it was in the year, which we have now reached, 1718, that Sir Christopher Wren, the most illus-

[1] Cibber's *Apology*, p. 455.

[2] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 67.

trious of all the holders of that office, was, after nearly fifty years spent in the active and assiduous service of the Crown and the public, and in the fourscore and sixth year of his age, driven from the post that he had filled so long, with such conspicuous and splendid success.

This shameful and ungenerous act, though perhaps not emanating directly from the King, who seems to have been instigated to it by some of his German favourites,[1] has deservedly been ever regarded as one of the worst blots on a reign sufficiently blurred and bespattered, without this additional and gratuitous stain. The fact was, however, that the great English architect was altogether of too noble a nature, to stoop and cringe to the corrupt and hungry crew of foreign parasites and mistresses, who dispensed the royal patronage of the first George; and it was inevitable that he should be pushed aside for one, whose character was more compliant, and whose gross ignorance and incompetence were more in consonance with the influences paramount at Court. Such a one was William Benson, in whose favour, probably by a judicious distribution of largess, the patent which Wren had received from Charles II., and which he had held under five successive sovereigns, was withdrawn, on the 26th of April, 1718.[2]

Wren bore the slight thus put upon him with exemplary fortitude and dignity. He retired to Hampton Court, saying only with the Stoic: "Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophari."

His residence, however, was not in the Palace, but in a house on the Green, which he had taken on lease from the Crown in 1708, at a rent of £10 a year for fifty years, and which he considerably improved.[3] The original house, which, indeed, was only of wood and plaster, and very old

[1] Ker's *Memoirs*, part ii., p. 110, ed. 1726.

[2] Elmes's *Life of Wren*, p. 507.

[3] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 76.

and decayed, he seems to have rebuilt, almost entirely, in substantial brickwork; and it was in consideration of his large expense in so doing, and also of his surrendering his claim to a sum of £341 3*s.* 4*d.*—being several years' arrears of his salary, due to him from the Crown—that he procured at so low a rent, a lease of premises, which had hitherto been the official residence of the Surveyor-General of the Works, and which included a charming garden, extending, for a distance of 327 feet, behind the house, to the Thames.[1]

After the great architect's death, the house, or rather his lease of it, devolved, by his will, upon his son Christopher Wren; who, getting a renewal of the original lease, left it by will to his own son Stephen, from whom it passed into other hands. The premises are now, after having had various tenants, during this present century, leased by the Crown to Mr. James Fletcher, the present occupant.[2]

Sir Christopher's old house and garden are but little changed to this day: the terrace that he constructed by the riverside, where he built an arbour, his old tool-house, the tree on the lawn, beneath the shade of which he loved to sit, his drawing-room, his dining-room, his bedroom, all remain, much in their original state, consecrated, for all time, by their association with so renowned and lofty a genius.

Here, within sight of the Palace that he had reconstructed and embellished, he passed the greater part of the last five years of his life, "free from worldly cares, in contemplation and studies," says his grandson and biographer, "and principally in the consolation of the Holy Scriptures, cheerful in solitude, and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light."[3]

[1] *Records of the Office of Woods and Forests*, kindly traced out for me by Mr. Hellard.

[2] Mr. Fletcher also rents from the Crown a small adjoining house on the west, which now forms one habitation with Wren's house; but the two are still substantially distinct.

[3] *Parentalia.*

The pretext for his supersession, after such signal services rendered to the State, with so splendid a record of great achievements, and with a mind that retained, in spite of his years, all the vigour and freshness of youth, was founded on the old and specious pretence that economies would thereby be effected in the public service. This well-worn device was paraded by the man who looked to stepping into his shoes, and who, when duly installed, proceeded to level a series of accusations of extravagance and carelessness against the late Board, supplementing them with specific charges of the grossest jobbery, against some of the subordinate officials in the department. These accusations, however, Benson was far too astute to prefer himself; but induced his brother Benjamin, whom he had pitchforked into the post of Clerk of the Works at Whitehall, and one Colin Campbell, a servile agent of his own, to formulate them in a memorial to the Treasury.[1]

The chief allegations were of the "abominable cheats," that had been so long practised, to his Majesty's great prejudice; in particular, "that the Clerk of the Works at Hampton Court had built a house for one of the workmen with H. M. stores, and the labourers paid by H. M., and had also charged the said house on the office books, by which means his Majesty's paid twice for a building, which he ought not to have paid for at all." This was stated on the authority of Colin Campbell, while Benjamin Benson, the new Surveyor's brother, stated that "Mr. Chr. Tilson at Hampton Court has the possession of one of the pavilions at that Palace, upon which several considerable sums of money have been expended from time to time in divers conveniencies and additions and embellishments, partly by collusion with the Clerk of his Majesty's Works, and partly

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. ccxii., No. 8, Dec. 2nd, 1718.

by a greater authority, but both equally unwarrantable and grievous to the Crown." He gave another instance of malpractices at Hampton Court by a Mr. Huggins, who by clandestine means, with the aforesaid Clerk of that Palace, "got a wall and gates and duck ponds and other things made for himself." He referred also to other "abominable abuses" which he declared had been discovered, "such as making H.M. pay double for workmen, false measuring, cutting the lead to pieces," &c.

This memorial the Lords of the Treasury, regardless of Wren's retirement from the King's service, the circumstances attending it, his advanced age, and his many other claims on their forbearance, forwarded to him to report upon. The dignified, and indeed pathetic letter which the old man wrote from Hampton Court, and in which he protested against this procedure, is well worthy of being transcribed in full from the Calendar of State Papers, in which it first saw the light a few years ago.

My surprise is equal to my concern to find, that after having served the Crown and the publick about fifty years, and at this great age, I should be under the necessity of taking a part in answering a memorial presented by Mr. Benson to y^r^ Lordships, charging some mismanagements on the Commissioners of the Board of Works. It was his Majesties pleasure, on his happy accession to the Throne, to continue me in the office of Surveyor of the Works: but soon after, in regard to my great age, he was pleased of his Royal clemency to ease me of the burden of the business of that office, by appointing other worthy gentlemen with me in the Commission, which was under such regulations and restrictions, as that altho' I had the honour to be first named with the old title of Surveyor, yet in acting, I had no power to override or give a casting vote: I did, however, as often as my infirmities would permit, attend the Board, and endeavoured to doe his Majesty all the service I was able with the same integrity and zeal, which I had ever practised.

I doubt not but the gentlemen concerned in the late Commission will lay before y^r^ Lordships such particular answers to the memorial of complaint as will be satisfactory. I crave leave to refer thereto, and may presume to say that, notwithstanding the pretensions of the present surveyor's management to be better than that of the late Commissioners, or theirs to be better than what preceded, yet I am persuaded, upon an impartial view of matters, and fairly distinguishing all particulars, with due consideration had to long protracted payment of artificers, there will be no just ground for the censuring former managements, and as I am dismiss'd, having worn out (by God's mercy) a long life in the Royal Service, and having made some figure in the world, I hope it will be allowed me to die in peace.

Hampton Court, April 21st, 1719.[1]

This letter, if any vindication of Sir Christopher Wren were needed, would entirely have exonerated him from any responsibilities in the abuses exposed in the Benson memorial, had they proved to be true. As it happened, however, they appear to have turned out, on investigation, to be entirely devoid of foundation; and so great was the discredit which overtook Benson on this account, and for his gross incapacity, jobbery, and misconduct, that he was soon after ignominiously expelled from his appointment, and only escaped prosecution, by the renewed influence of the foreign favourites exerted in his favour—an influence, which afterwards positively secured him another post, in a different sphere, with a salary of £1,200.[2]

Benson's dismissal from the Office of Works took place scarcely more than a twelvemonth after his appointment. Wren, therefore, had not long to wait for his vindication. But in his Hampton Court retreat, with his clear and vigorous mind engrossed to the last day of his life in scientific researches, he let the world go by, and cared

[1] *Treasury Papers*, vol. ccxx., No. 48, April 21st, 1719.
[2] Elmes's *Life of Wren*, p. 512.

for none of these things. Once a year only did he leave home to be borne to London, to sit for awhile under the dome of his own great cathedral; and it was on the last of these visits that he caught the cold, which hastened his end. It was his custom latterly to sleep in his dining-room after dinner, and on the 25th of February, 1723, his servant, who constantly attended him, thinking he slept longer than usual, and going in to rouse him, found him dead in his chair.[1] The old-fashioned panelled room, in which he died, is on the ground floor of Mr. Fletcher's house, on the left-hand side as you come in from the Green.

From Hampton Court his remains were removed to London to repose beneath the shelter of St. Paul's.

In the meanwhile, the Board of Works was not the only department of State in which disorders and irregularities were declared at this time to prevail at Hampton Court. The conduct of his Majesty's household was equally impugned: for in a letter, addressed by King George, on the 5th of May, in the year after Wren's dismissal, 1719, to the Lord Chamberlain, the Duke of Newcastle, animadversions are made on an abuse, which seems always to have been more or less existent at Hampton Court, and which it taxed even the strong arm of Henry VIII. to grapple with—namely, the practice of persons, who had no sort of right to occupy rooms in the Palace at all, calmly settling themselves down there, probably with the connivance of some friendly or corrupt official, and in this manner endeavouring surreptitiously to acquire a sort of prescriptive footing, which it was afterwards difficult to dispute, and from which it was still more difficult to dislodge them. The King's letter was as follows:—

Whereas we are informed that contrary to the Standing Rules

[1] *Parentalia*, p. 346, and Elmes's *Life of Wren*, p. 523.

and Order made for the better care and government of our Houses, severall persons are Lodg'd in our Palaces of Hampton Court, Windsor and Kensington, who have no places or offices about our Person to entitle them to Lodgings: These are, therefore, to require you not to permitt any person to have Lodgings in our palaces of Hampton Court, etc., who are not by their offices entitled thereto, and that you give orders to the Keepers of our s[d] Houses not to admitt any of our servants who have Lodgings appointed them for their attendance in our service there, to make use of their Lodgings, without leave first had from you, or the Chamberlain of our Household for the time being, as they shall answer the contrary at their perill.

The ordinances, however, of a George I. were not likely to have much effect, in a case where a Henry VIII. had failed to secure obedience—and, as we shall have occasion to note later, the abuse continued to flourish till nearly the beginning of the present century.

Not very long after this, efforts were made for the composing of the quarrel between the two Courts, and eventually, on St. George's Day, 1720, an open reconciliation took place between the King and his son, when "the officers of the two Courts *kissed*, *embraced*, and congratulated one another upon this auspicious reconcilation."[1] This event was soon followed by the marriage of Miss Lepell to Lord Hervey, and of Miss Bellenden to Colonel Campbell, who became long after Duke of Argyle, and these two marriages, to a great extent, broke up the charming little society, of which Mrs. Howard was the centre. Both Courts, besides, seem to have forsaken Hampton Court; and we find for eight years or so no reference to it, until after the death of George I., on the 11th of June, 1727.

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 53.

CHAPTER XVI.

COURT LIFE AT HAMPTON COURT UNDER GEORGE II.

King George II. comes to Hampton Court—Dulness of the Life at Court—Mrs. Howard, the King's Mistress—The Queen delights in subjecting her to Indignities—The Queen washing at her Bath—Morning Prayers by her Chaplain—The Queen and the Clergy—Her Levées—Mrs. Howard made Mistress of the Robes—The King's Monotonous Regularity—"Nauseous Selkirk"—The Dull Routine of the Court—Attempt at Liveliness by the Maids of Honour—Their Midnight Pranks—The Prude, Miss Meadows—The King goes Stag-Hunting—His Intolerance of Fox-Hunting—Dining in Public—The Public Dining-Room—Queen's Guard-Chamber, Presence Chamber, and Staircase—Kent employed to alter the Clock Court—George II.'s Gateway—Lord Hervey's Letters to Mrs. Clayton—"Two miserable Court Drudges"—The Duke of Grafton and Princess Emily—The "Pious Pimp Schutz"—Dull Court Recreations.

THE new King, after his accession, still preserved his old affection for Hampton Court; and the Court came here for several months, on July 2nd, 1728, and, for the next ten years or so, a regular practice was made of spending a couple of months every summer in this Palace.[1] Nevertheless, times were now sadly changed from what they had been, and life at Court, which had lost so many of its brightest ornaments, was oppressed with an intolerable, if decorous dulness, which

[1] They moved here from Richmond Lodge. Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., pp. 299 and 312; and Martha Blount to Swift, May 7th, 1728. Elwin's *Pope*, vol. vii., p. 129.

George II., who was never of a really vivacious temperament, seems to have thought more befitting his new dignity. Mrs. Howard, in answering Lady Hervey's letter, cited in a previous chapter,[1] dwelling on the memories of old Hampton Court days, says :—

> Hampton Court is very different from the place you knew ; and to say *one* wished *Tom Lepell*, Schatz, and Bellenden at the tea-table is too interested to be doubted. *Frizelation, flirtation*, and *dangleation* are now no more, and nothing less than a Lepell can restore them to life ; but to tell you my opinion freely, the people you now converse with [that is, her books] are much more alive than any of your old acquaintance.[2]

Mrs. Howard had other reasons for regretting the change from former days at Hampton Court. Though, through her lover's accession to the throne, she might have hoped for an increase of power, and of the equivocal dignity of position that attaches to a monarch's mistress, her position was, in truth, in every respect, a most unenviable one. "No established mistress of a sovereign," says Walpole, "ever enjoyed less of the brilliancy of the situation than Lady Suffolk." Though she was fond of power, and was courted by wits and politicians on the look-out for patronage, the wariness of the ministers and the jealousy of the Queen effectually nullified her influence with the King. The Queen, besides, delighted in subjecting her to every indignity, and rigorously imposed upon her all the menial duties of her office as bedchamber-woman. For instance, she required Mrs. Howard, when she brought her the chocolate, to present it kneeling, and to do the same when she set down the basin and ewer brought by the pages of the backstairs for the Queen to wash her hands. At first Mrs. Howard rebelled, and refused to comply ; and made

[1] See page 214.
[2] Lady Suffolk's *Letters* vol. i., p. 323, Sept., 1728.

inquiries of Mrs. Masham what had been the etiquette in the time of Queen Anne.[1] The answer was not one to encourage her to resist on the score of precedent, and eventually she had to give in. Queen Caroline used afterwards to tell how she would say to her, not in anger, "but calmly as I would have said to a naughty child, 'Yes, my dear Howard, I am sure you will; indeed you will. Go, go; fie for shame! Go, my good Howard, we will talk of this another time.'"[2]

Queen Caroline's Bath.

The room at Hampton Court where Mrs. Howard waited on the Queen while she dressed, remains to this day pretty much as it did a hundred and fifty years ago. On one side is the tall marble bath where her Majesty performed her ablutions, and on the same side is the door into her private chapel. Here prayers were read while the Queen dressed, the door being left ajar so that the chaplain's voice might be heard. The bedchamber woman-in-waiting was one day ordered to bid the chaplain, Dr. Maddox (afterwards Bishop of Worcester), begin the service; but seeing a picture of a naked Venus over the fireplace, he made bold to remark,

[1] See Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 16, *note;* Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 291.

[2] Do.

"And a very proper altar-piece is here, madam!" [1] Of this peculiar custom we have other proof. The following passage occurs in a sort of dramatic trifle in Lord Hervey's memoirs,[2] entitled, "The Death of Lord Hervey; or, a Morning at Court. A Drama." The scene is laid in the Queen's dressing-room; the Queen is discovered at her toilet, cleaning her teeth, with Mrs. Purcell dressing her Majesty's head, and the princesses and the ladies and women of the bedchamber standing round. Morning prayers are being said in the next room.

1*st Parson* (*behind the scenes*). "From pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness."

2*nd Parson*. "Good Lord, deliver us!"

Queen. "I pray, my good Lady Sundon, shut a little that door; these creatures pray so loud, one cannot hear oneself speak. (*Lady Sundon goes to shut the door.*) So, so, not quite so much; leave it enough open for those parsons to think we may hear, and enough shut that we may not hear quite so much."

The fact was, the Queen had no very great regard for the ministrations of the clergy; and though she was fond of studying theology, and of having discussions with the learned divines of the period, her views on religion were very far from orthodox. Her levées, which were probably held in the Queen's State Bedroom already mentioned, were "a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while she was at her toilet; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household; the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room." [3]

[1] Walpole's *Reminiscences*.
[2] Vol. ii., p. 163.
[3] Coxe's *Life of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. i., p. 274.

Levées of this nature, we need scarcely say, were not at all suited to the taste of George II., who held the arts, literature, and learning in the greatest contempt; and who rarely honoured the Queen with his presence, while they were going on, and while she was being dressed by Mrs. Howard. If, however, he did come into the room during this ceremony, he would snatch away the handkerchief, placed over the Queen's shoulders by her bedchamber-woman, exclaiming, "Because you have an ugly neck yourself, you love to hide the Queen's." [1]

It is not surprising to find Mrs. Howard glad to escape from a post that involved her in so many mortifications. When, by the death of her brother-in-law in 1731, she became Countess of Suffolk, and consequently could no longer hold the post of bedchamber-woman, she wrote from the palace with evident gratification to inform the poet Gay of the agreeable change in her life :—

Hampton Court, June 29, 1731.

To prevent all future quarrels and disputes, I shall let you know that I have kissed hands for the place of mistress of the robes. Her Majesty did me the honour to give me the choice of lady of the bedchamber, or that, which I find so much more agreeable to me, that I did not take one moment to consider of it. The Duchess of Dorset resigned it for me; and everything as yet promises more happiness for the latter part of my life than I have yet had a prospect of. Seven nights' quiet sleep, and seven easy days have almost worked a miracle upon me.[2]

From this time to that of her retirement from Court, two years afterwards, her position was much more agreeable and independent than previously. She appears to have been lodged, when at Hampton Court, in the charming and beautiful suite of rooms in the south-east corner of the palace,

[1] Walpole's *Memoirs of George II.*, vol. i., p. 446, ed. 1846.
[2] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. ii., p. 1.

on the ground floor, once used, with the rooms above, by William III., and now occupied by Lady Georgiana Grey; and here the King visited her every evening at nine o'clock, "but with such dull punctuality, that he frequently walked up and down the gallery for ten minutes with his watch in his hand if the stated minute was not arrived." [1]

The clockwork regularity of his Majesty George II., both in business and pleasure, and the monotony of life which it imposed on the Court, was a constant cause of complaint to those, who came within its influence. The Countess of Pomfret, for instance, who, as one of the ladies of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline was often in attendance at the palace, writes from Hampton Court on the 7th of August, 1731:—

> All things appear to move in the same manner as usual, and all our actions are as mechanical as the clock which directs them; to repeat our diary would but be to spoil the agreeable description I heard of it one night at supper. The new bedchamber-woman was here on Sunday last, and comes into waiting when I go out.
>
> My late hours of a night (it being often two o'clock before I get to bed) oblige me to rise so late of a morning, that I have hardly more time to be dressed, etc., before the Queen calls; which forces me, much sooner than I would wish, to come to a conclusion.[2]

Lady Hervey, also, who seems to have been rarely at Court herself after her marriage, though her husband as Vice-Chamberlain was almost continuously in attendance at the palace on the Queen, had evidently heard how appallingly dull Hampton Court life had become; and we find her writing to Lady Suffolk on the subject in the summer of 1731.[3] Lord Selkirk, concerning whom she inquires, had been a lord of the

[1] Walpole's *Memoirs of the Last Four Years of George II.'s Reign*, vol. i., p. 513, and *Reminiscences*. The same anecdote is recorded in both these books; but in the first the hour of his going down is given as *seven* o'clock.

[2] Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 48.

[3] *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 156.

bedchamber almost uninterruptedly since the Revolution, and, to judge from a couplet in Lord Hervey's poetical epistle to the Queen, was evidently no favourite with the Herveys :—

> Let nauseous Selkirk shake his empty head
> Through six Courts more when six have wish'd him dead.

"How do all things go on at Hampton Court?" asks Lady Hervey. "Is there nothing new? Does Selkirk . . . ? does Lady Bristol cry? Are the maids still unmarried, and the Swiss most agreeable?" . . . "Sure there wants some change to diversify and enliven the scene," continues Lady Hervey, "which, whenever it happens, I beg you will inform me of."[1]

But, indeed, there was little change; once only was the routine of Court life broken at the palace, when a performance, for which the Actors' Company received £100, was given in the Great Hall on Monday, the 18th of October, 1731, for the entertainment of the Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Emperor of Germany, who was on a visit to England.[2] He had on the previous Saturday been entertained at dinner in the Beauty Gallery.[3]

The maids of honour, on whom the monotony of the life at Court weighed more heavily than anyone, occasionally endeavoured, however, to enliven themselves by some frolics about the palace. One night, several of these lively young ladies stole into the gardens, and went round rattling at, and opening, the windows of several apartments.[4] Lady Hervey, who heard of these pranks of her former companions,

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 411.

[2] Colley Cibber's *Apology*, pp. 447 and 456. Cibber gives the date as the 16th, but the *Daily Advertiser* and other newspapers of the time show it was on the 18th.

[3] *The Craftsman*, Oct. 23rd, 1731.

[4] It would seem more probable from the context, that Kensington was the scene of this lark; but in any case it is illustrative of life at Hampton Court at this time.

comments on them with half-serious severity: "I think people who are of such very hot constitutions as to want to be refreshed by night-walking, need not disturb others who are not so warm as they are; it was very lucky that, looking over letters till it was late, prevented some people being in bed and in their first sleep, otherwise the infinite wit and merry pranks of the youthful maids might have been lost to the world."[1]

In this lark they were joined even by Miss Meadows, whose gravity or prudery was a common jest at Court, and who has been immortalized by Pope, in the verses already referred to, written in answer to the question, "What is prudery?" :—

> 'Tis a fear that starts at shadows;
> 'Tis (no, 'tisn't) like Miss Meadows.

In the meanwhile the King's chief occupation was stag-hunting and coursing, of which he was very fond, and which was not relinquished even in the summer,[2] and was the only diversion that broke the dull routine at Court. "We hunt," writes Mrs. Howard on July 31st, 1730, from Hampton Court, "with great noise and violence, and have every day a very tolerable chance to have a neck broke."[3] Her fears were by no means imaginary, as the following extract from a newspaper of the day proves :—

August 25th, 1731. The royal family were a hunting, and in the chase a stag started upon the Princess Amelia's horse, which being frightened threw her. The Hon^ble^ Mr. Fitzwilliam, page of honour to his Majesty, fell with his horse among the coney-burrows, as also a servant to the Queen's coachmaker.

[1] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 333 (July 7th, 1729).

[2] Stag-hunting always took place in the summer in old days. During the season of the stag, the object was to kill the beast for eating, and not to gallop after hounds only.

[3] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 376.

The King was not a little proud of his exploits as a sportsman, and was every Wednesday and Saturday hunting in the parks for four or five hours. But the Queen, though she accompanied his Majesty in a chaise, neither saw nor cared to see much of the sport. She undertook "to mount Lord Hervey the whole summer (who loved hunting as little as she did), so that he might ride constantly by the side of her chaise, and entertain her, whilst other people were entertaining themselves with hearing dogs bark, and seeing crowds gallop." [1]

Nevertheless, the King had no taste for fox-hunting, and, like too many sportsmen, was intolerant of a sport he did not himself relish. Once, "when the Duke of Grafton notified his design to go into the country, the King told him it was a pretty occupation for a man of quality, and at his age, to be spending all his time in tormenting a poor fox, that was generally a much better beast than any of those that pursued him; 'for the fox hurts no other animal but for his subsistence, whilst those brutes who hurt him, did it only for the pleasure they took in hunting.' The duke said 'he did it for his health.' The King asked him 'why he could not as well walk or ride post for his health?' and added, 'if there was any pleasure in the chase, he was sure the Duke of Grafton could know nothing of it; for,' pursued his Majesty, 'with your great corpse of twenty stone weight, no horse, I am sure, can carry you within hearing, much less within sight of the hounds.'" [2]

After the hunting, which usually took place in the morning, they came home to dinner early in the afternoon, when the King and Queen, with the whole Court, frequently dined in public in the magnificent room still called "The Public Dining Room." Even now it is one of the finest

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 262 (1733).
[2] Do., vol. ii., p. 40.

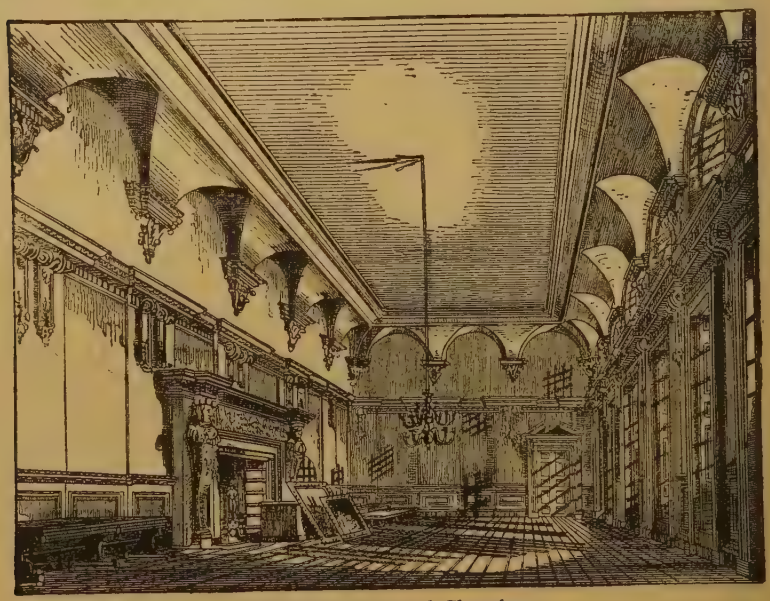
of the State suite, being 31 feet wide, and nearly 60 feet, though originally 80 feet, long. It would seem to have been redecorated about this time, for the white marble doorways, the plain painted panelling, with distempered walls above, and the heavy classic cornice, are clearly in the style of the early Georgian period. The ponderous chimney-piece of massive white marble is especially characteristic of that taste, and worthy of notice from bearing the arms of George II. in the pediment.

In the evening almost the only amusement seems to have been cards. But sometimes the King or Queen had drawing-rooms and levées, which, we may suppose, were either held in the Queen's Audience Chamber, where the canopy of crimson silk under which she sat is still affixed to the wall, or in the Queen's Presence Chamber, adjoining the Queen's Guard Chamber. "I have been twice to Hampton Court," writes Dr. Alured Clarke to Mrs. Clayton, on July 1st, 1731, "to finish the ceremony of kissing the hands of the Royal Family. The King and Queen were pleased to receive me in a very kind manner."[1]

The two rooms last mentioned, the Queen's Presence and Guard Chambers, if completed at all by William III., afterwards underwent a transformation at the hands of George II. It would appear that originally they did not extend in height, beyond the heavy cornice above the oblong windows, and that the including of the round-window storey above, was an afterthought, which has certainly greatly improved them, both in proportion and in light. The ornaments here, as in the Public Dining Room, are clearly not from any design of Sir Christopher Wren's; but may be attributed, with tolerable certainty, to Kent, a very indifferent architect, who was just coming into fashion, and was much

[1] Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 212.

employed by George II. The Guard Chamber, with its seven tall oblong windows, and the same number of circular ones above, and its great chimney-piece of white marble, the sides of which represent Yeomen of the Guard, is remarkably fine. It is 54 feet long, by 34 feet wide, and 28 high. Nevertheless the decoration of these rooms is ob-



The Queen's Guard Chamber.

noxious to Walpole's criticism of Kent, that "his chimney-pieces were too ponderous, and his constant introduction of pediments and the members of architecture over doors, and within rooms, was disproportioned and cumbrous."

It was in George II.'s reign, also, that the Queen's Great Staircase—which gives access, from the Clock Court and from

the cloister of the Fountain Court, to the Haunted Gallery on one side, to the Communication Gallery on the other, and to the Queen's Guard Chamber in the middle—was finished and decorated. As far as size goes, being 52 feet long, by 30 feet wide and 40 feet high, it is a worthy approach to the Queen's State Rooms; and the flight of stairs is fine, as is also the balustrade of wrought iron. The walls and ceiling, however, are painted, or rather besmeared with paint, in a way that does little credit to the artist, who executed the work, and who is believed to have been Wyck—the walls being covered with scroll-work, and a few unmeaning figures, while the ceiling represents, or rather simulates, a dome. In the cornice of the ceiling is George II.'s monogram; and from the centre hangs an old-fashioned lantern.

About the same time, likewise, it must have been, that the Prince of Wales's apartments in the north-east angle of the new palace, which had been left unfinished since the death of William III., were decorated and finished, the mantelpieces being unmistakably "Georgian" in style.

His alterations, however, were not confined to the interior of the building; for in 1732 he commissioned Kent to rebuild part of the east range of the Clock Court. Horace Walpole, who censures Wren for the glaring blemish of the Ionic colonnade that crosses that court, by its want of harmony with the rest of the fabric, tells us that Kent was on the point of repeating this incongruity, in the same place, in George II.'s reign, but was overruled by his father, Sir Robert; though even Horace, bad judge as we must pronounce him in such a question, could not commend Kent's skill in Gothic. For ourselves, we scarcely know which to regard as most incongruous, Wren's colonnade, which is a beautiful work in itself, or Kent's miserable specimen of bastard carpenter's Gothic, consisting of an attempted Early English doorway, a ridiculous pointed window, an imitation

vaulted ceiling of stucco, and two new turrets, which he substituted for the fine old bay windows, which are seen in the engraving on page 188 of our first volume. Besides, the formality in the grouping of the windows, the stiff cutting of the stone jambs, which are neatly shaved and trimmed, the use, in the brickwork, of the affected Flemish, instead of the old English bond, all betray how alien was the spirit of his work to that of the old. This gateway of George II. is, nevertheless, interesting from the fact of its being one of the earliest specimens of the revived Gothic taste, which Horace Walpole afterwards did so much to forward; and it is curious that we should be indebted for it, to the influence of his father.

Unfortunately, the mischief which Kent did, in this part of the old Tudor palace, was not confined to the exterior of the building; for at the same time, he remodelled two of the rooms in this range, which were among the finest in the old palace, and full of associations of Tudor and Stuart days, dividing them into six smaller ones. The new ceilings, however, which he designed for some of them, are not devoid of merit.

We must record, also, to his honour, that incapable as he was of understanding the true principles of Gothic, he was not insensible to its beauties. For he made a design of the Great Hall, as it was in the time of Henry VIII., with that king receiving foreign ambassadors in state, probably to give George II. an idea of what its appearance would be, unencumbered by the theatre, which had been erected in it, and which then still disfigured it. His design was afterwards engraved by John Vardy and published by him in 1749.

Things at Hampton Court were still moving in a very uninteresting and tedious groove in 1733, when Lord Hervey, on July 14th, writes as follows to Mrs. Clayton (afterwards Lady Sundon), one of the Queen's women of the bed-

chamber and her great confidante,—according to Horace Walpole "an absurd and pompous simpleton," and to Sir Robert "a d—d inveterate b—h."[1]

The Court removes on Monday after dinner to Hampton Court, so that I shall no longer be obliged to lead the disagreeable stage-coachman's life, which I have done during their stay at Richmond, and I assure you I have so little of the itinerant fashionable taste of many of my acquaintance, that I look on the negative pleasure of fixing with no small comfort. If I knew any facts to entertain you, I would launch out afresh, but there is nobody in town to furnish, invent, or relate any; and at Court I need not tell you, madam, one seldom hears anything one cares to hear, more seldom what one cares to retain, and most seldom of all, what one should care to have said.[2]

In another letter to Mrs. Clayton, which we shall quote presently, he furnishes us, a few days after, with a complete picture, in miniature, of the Court life at Hampton Court during this reign. Foremost in it figure Lord Lifford and his sister, Lady Charlotte de Roussie, children of a Count de Roucy, a French Protestant, who came over to England in 1688, and was created Earl of Lifford in Ireland. "These two people," Lord Hervey tells us in his Memoirs, "having more religion than sense, left their native country on account of being Protestant; and being of great quality and not in great circumstances, they had, during four reigns, subsisted upon the scanty charity of the English Court: they were constantly, every night in the country, and three nights in the week in town, alone with the King and Queen, for an hour or two, before they went to bed, during which time the King walked about and talked to the brother, of armies, or to the sister, of genealogies, whilst the Queen knotted and yawned, till from yawning she came to nodding, and from nodding to snoring.

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 357.
[2] Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 229; and see also Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 245.

"These two miserable Court drudges were in more constant waiting than any of the pages of the back stairs, were very simple and very quiet, did nobody any hurt, nor anybody but his Majesty any pleasure, who paid them so ill, for all their assiduity and slavery, that they were not only not in affluence, but laboured under the disagreeable burdens of small debts (which a thousand pounds would have paid), and had not an allowance from the Court that enabled them to appear there even in the common decency of clean clothes. The King, nevertheless, was always saying how well he loved them, and calling them the best people in the world. But, though he never forgot their goodness, he never remembered their poverty."[1]

There also figures in Lord Hervey's sketch, the Duke of Grafton, whose fox-hunting proclivities we referred to a few pages back. He was the grandson of Charles II. and Lady Castlemaine, and in virtue of this royal connection, of which he was very proud, was accustomed to allow himself almost the familiarity of a relative, in his intercourse with the royal family. This was the cause of much irritation against him on the part of the Queen, who, as well as Lord Hervey, cordially disliked him.

Nevertheless, he managed to be always well at Court, by continuing, according to Walpole, to be generally thought a fool, whereby it was not remarked that he was in such favour. In person, he was very dignified, and, in speaking, delivered himself with a sort of impressive and stately slowness, which in Georgian days, it seems, was much commended in a great nobleman.

His intercourse with the Princess Emily, who was supposed to be in love with him, was carried to the very verge of propriety: if, indeed, it did not pass it. She was at this

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 292.

time pretty and lively, and, like the duke, passionately fond of hunting and of horses, and would visit the royal stables on Hampton Court Green, if her horses were ill, in defiance of all the laws of Court etiquette. She and the Duke of Grafton used to hunt two or three times a week together; and once gave occasion for much scandalous comment, by separating themselves from their attendants, affecting to lose their way, and going together to a private house, from which they did not return to the palace till quite late at night.[1] The duke was commemorated by Pope, together with Mr. Schutz (another favourite at Court), in his court ballad, "The Challenge":—

> Alas! like Schutz I cannot pun,
> Like Grafton court the Germans,
> Tell Pickenbourg how slim she's grown,
> Like Meadows run to sermons.

To him and to Lord Grantham, another Court dullard, there are also allusions in Hervey's poetical epistle to the Queen:—

> Grantham set chairs and wiser Grafton hunt:
> Let one, the extent of his discourse to show,
> Vary *Comment ça va?* and *How do you do?*
> T'other his journals eloquently tell,
> Which hound first hit it off, what horse did well.

Mr. Schutz, likewise, whom he always cites as a personification of dulness, is reflected on in the same satire:—

> And sure in sleep no dulness you need fear,
> Who, ev'n awake, can Schutz and Lifford bear;

and again,

> Charlotte and Schutz like angry monkeys chatter,
> None guessing what's the language or the matter;

[1] Walpole's *Reign of George II.*, vol. i., p. 157.

while in another satire of Lord Hervey's occur these lines :—

> There's another court booby, at once hot and dull,
> Your pious pimp Schutz, a mean Hanover tool.[1]

The reader will now, after these elucidatory remarks, be in a position to appreciate the allusions in Lord Hervey's letter, giving a sketch of Hampton Court life in 1733.

Hampton Court, July 31st, 1733.

I will not trouble you with any account of our occupations at Hampton Court. No mill-horse ever went in a more constant track, or a more unchanging circle, so that by the assistance of an almanack for the day of the week, and a watch for the hour of the day, you may inform yourself fully, without any other intelligence but your memory, of every transaction within the verge of the Court. Walking, chaises, levees and audiences fill the morning; at night the King plays at commerce and backgammon, and the Queen at quadrille, where poor Lady Charlotte [de Roucy] runs her usual nightly gauntlet—the Queen pulling her hood, Mr. Schutz sputtering in her face, and the Princess Royal rapping her knuckles, all at a time. It was in vain she fled from persecution for her religion : she suffers for her pride what she escaped for her faith ; undergoes in a drawing room what she dreaded from the Inquisition, and will die a martyr to a Court, though not to a church.

The Duke of Grafton takes his nightly opiate of lottery, and sleeps as usual between the Princesses Amelia and Carolina ; Lord Grantham strolls from one room to another (as Dryden says), "like some discontented ghost that oft appears and is forbid to speak," and stirs himself about, as people stir a fire, not with any design, but in hopes to make it burn brisker, which his lordship constantly does, to no purpose, and yet tries as constantly as if it had ever once succeeded.

At last the King comes up ; the pool finishes, and everybody has their dismission : their Majesties retire to Lady Charlotte and my Lord Lifford ; the Princesses, to Bilderbec and Lony ; my Lord Grantham to Lady Frances and Mr. Clark ; some to supper, and

[1] Jesse's *Court of England.*

some to bed; and thus (to speak in the scripture phrase) the evening and the morning make the day.[1]

Lord Chesterfield, also, who remembered the lively evenings at Mrs. Howard's at Hampton Court, in old days, when the King was Prince of Wales, writing a fortnight after to her, cannot refrain from indulging in some satirical comments on the dull nature of their present occupations. "Your Court recreations," he says, "I find, give the lie to those who complain of the uncertainty and instability of Courts, or must at least claim an exception for yours, since the same joyous measures have, for these sixteen revolving years, been steadily pursued without interruption. Commerce must surely have played its cards excellently well to have kept its ground so long."[2]

[1] Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 231. Hervey to Mrs. Clayton.
[2] Lady Suffolk's *Letters*, vol. ii., p. 65. Aug. 17th, 1733.

CHAPTER XVII.

GEORGE II., HIS QUEEN, AND LORD HERVEY.

Lord Hervey writes a Satire against Pope—Its Feebleness—Pope's Answer—Lord Hervey's Letter to Mrs. Clayton—His Conversations with the King—Fathers' Care on Sons thrown away—The Opposition in Parliament—"Puppies and Fools"—Lord Hervey's Intimacy with the Queen—More Conversations with King George—Lord Hervey's friend Bishop Hoadley—"A great Puppy and a great Rascal"—The King scolds the Queen—"An old Girl that loves to go abroad"—"Always stuffing"—His Majesty's shocking Behaviour and Ill-Humour—Lady Deloraine aspires to be the King's Mistress—The Queen's Taste for Gardening—She transforms the Gardens at Hampton Court—The figured Scroll-work Beds removed—Large Lawns and Yew Trees cut into Pyramids.

LORD HERVEY, who fills such a large space in the Court life of this period, was occupied, in the summer of 1733 at Hampton Court, in other ways besides attending on the King and Queen, and writing the memoirs, letters, and court verses from which we have given extracts in our last chapter. For, throughout the month of August, he was busy composing a satire, entitled "An Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a Nobleman at Hampton Court, August 28, 1733," in which he sought to reply to the attacks made against him by Pope. There can be no doubt that he was most justly irritated by the way in which the poet, without any provocation on his part, had referred to him several times in his satiric pieces,

under the opprobrious sobriquet of "Lord Fanny," laughing at his taste for versifying, hinting at his physical infirmities, and maligning, in the most filthy terms, his friend Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The principal lines in which Hervey was aimed at, and which impelled him to compose his reply, were these :—

> The lines are weak, another's pleased to say,
> Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day ;

and, again,

> Like gentle Fanny's was my flowery theme,
> A painted mistress or a purling stream.

Accordingly, he set to work, with no very great prudence, to attack, in the heroic couplet, the poet who handled that form of verse with such masterly effect. But his lordship's satire, though no doubt the best he could produce, was disastrously unequal to such a contest. In the whole epistle there are scarcely any lines of more vigour than the following, in which he disparages Pope's claims to to be regarded as a poet on account of his translation of Homer's "Iliad" :—

> Such Pope himself might write, who ne'er can think,
> He who at crambo plays with pen and ink,
> And is called poet, 'cause in rhyme he wrote
> What Dacier construed, and what Homer thought, . . .
> But in reality this jingler's claim
> A judge of writing would no more admit,
> Than each dull Dictionary's claim to wit,
> That nothing gives you at its own expense
> But a few modern words for ancient sense.[1]

Such verse is indeed "impar congressus Achilli," and is only worth remembering from the fact of its having drawn

[1] Lord Hervey's epistle, which was addressed to Dr. Sherwin, was not published till the month of November.

from Pope, in prose, the "Letter to a Noble Lord," one of the keenest pieces of ironical writing in the English language, and in poetry, the terrible character of Sporus, perhaps the most powerful, and at the same time the most brutal, piece of satiric invective in the whole range of modern literature.

The Court was still at Hampton Court in September, 1733, when Lord Hervey writes another letter to Mrs. Clayton, informing her of the news, which had just reached the palace, that Stanislaus Leczinski, the father of the Queen of France, had been elected King of Poland, instead of Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, son of the late king; and adds that "considering all things, it is the luckiest piece of news for England and for some people who shall be nameless that I have heard a great while. Adieu, dear madam, I am in a great hurry, being just come from walking with the Queen, and obliged (as the Duke of Grafton is in Northamptonshire) to dress immediately to attend the King in council."[1]

By the phrase, "some people who shall be nameless," Lord Hervey evidently meant the King and royal family, and he says in his "Memoirs"[2] that he ventured to tell the King, though he knew his Majesty held the opposite view, that "he thought the success of Stanislaus the best news he had heard a good while." The King, on his saying this, took him up very short, and said, "it was no great proof of his justice to rejoice at the good fortune of a man that had been a traitor and a rebel to his lawful sovereign, and had usurped his crown." Lord Hervey assured the King, "he neither considered the justice of Stanislaus' former nor present pretensions to the crown; that all the reason he had for being glad on this occasion was, having the welfare of England and the ease of his Majesty's government more at heart than any other consideration."

[1] Lady Sundon's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 233. Sept. 11th.
[2] Vol. i., p. 257.

He also recounts another incident that happened soon after.[1] He was with the King one morning at breakfast in the garden at Hampton Court, when no one else was present but the Queen, discussing the conduct of the King of Sardinia in regard to the quarrel that arose out of these Polish affairs between the Emperor and the King of France. The Queen asked Lord Hervey if the low opinion that was entertained of that king's abilities "was said to be merely owing to his natural want of understanding, or if his father had ever been reproached with neglecting his education?" Lord Hervey told her Majesty "that his father, as he had heard, had always kept him in great subjection, but that no pains had been spared to form him or to make something of him, if there had been any materials to work upon." Here the King interrupted, and colouring with a mixture of anger and hatred said, "I do not want to know that there may be people on whom all pains and care in education are thrown away," alluding to his own son, Frederick, Prince of Wales. Upon which the Queen winked at Lord Hervey to make no reply, and immediately turned the conversation.

This is a curious indication of the strained state of feeling which already existed between the King and his son, and which, as we shall shortly see, soon after led to a complete and public rupture.

In similar political discussions that Hervey used to have with the King and Queen this summer at Hampton Court, the conversation often turned on the prospects of the general election, which was then impending, and their Majesties were always urgent in their inquiries whether "the opponents seemed in spirits and in hopes?" In answering this question Lord Hervey told the King that "as almost all mankind are either to be convinced or to be bought," he used to say to the

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 259.

anti-Court party that "as we, the Court party, have sense enough among us to open our mouths, and resolution enough to open our purses, what real foundation you gentlemen in the opposition have to build your hopes upon, is past my finding out." "And what," replied the King, "do the puppies answer to this? Do they not look silly? They did not suspect, I suppose, to find me so firm. The fools imagined, perhaps, they could frighten me; but they must not think they have got a Stuart upon the throne, or if they do, they will find themselves mistaken."

The foregoing anecdotes are evidences of the close terms of intimacy in which Lord Hervey lived with the royal family, and especially with the Queen. Her Majesty used to send for him every morning to have breakfast with her in the gallery which adjoins the Queen's State Bedchamber,[1] and which we have already described, and they remained a long time in intimate conversation. She got a thousand a year added to his salary, gave him a hunter, and, as we have seen, on hunting days, he never stirred from her chaise. On the other days of the week, he walked and talked with her, and sometimes with the Princesses; and on all occasions she confided in him with the completest confidence and familiarity, and discussed every topic with him[2]—politics, the proceedings of the King, the conduct of the Prince, the gossip of the Court and of the town, philosophy, art, literature, and the satires of the "malignant wasp of Twickenham."

She called him always "her child, her pupil, and her charge; used to tell him perpetually that his being so impertinent and daring to contradict her so continually, was owing to his knowing she could not live without him; and often said, 'It is well I am so old, or I should be talked of for this creature.'"[3]

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 382, and vol. ii., p. 159, and see *ante*, p. 206.
[2] Do., vol. i., p. 262.
[3] Do., vol. i., p. 382.

Lord Hervey assures us that besides making prodigious court to her, he really loved and admired her. He gave up his sole time to her disposal; and always told her he devoted it "in winter to her business" (meaning in Parliament), and "in summer to her amusement." The Queen often used to send for him in the evening, when the King came upstairs, to entertain them till they retired, which was generally at eleven.

But the King had very little liking for the sort of subjects, that engaged their conversation, and interested the Queen. One evening, as soon as Lord Hervey came into the room (probably the Queen's State Bedchamber), the Queen, who was knitting while the King walked backwards and forwards, began jocosely to attack Lord Hervey upon an answer, just published, to a book of his friend, Bishop Hoadley, on the Sacrament, in which answer the Bishop was very ill-treated; but before she had uttered half what she had a mind to say, the King interrupted her, and told her she always loved talking of such nonsense and things she knew nothing of; adding, that if it were not for such foolish people, loving to talk of those things when they were written, the fools who wrote them would never think of publishing their nonsense, and disturbing the government with impertinent disputes, that nobody of any sense ever troubled himself about. The Queen bowed and said, "Sir, I only did it to let Lord Hervey know that his friend's book had not met with that general approbation he had pretended." "A pretty fellow for a friend," said the King, turning to Lord Hervey. "Pray what is it that charms you in him? His pretty limping gait" (and then he acted the Bishop's lameness), "or his nasty stinking breath? Phaugh!—or his silly laugh, when he grins in your face for nothing, and shows his nasty rotten teeth? Or is it his great honesty that charms your lordship?" And then the King recounted

all that he objected to in him on this score, adding: "If he is your friend, you have a great puppy, and a very dull fellow, and a great rascal for your friend. It is a very pretty thing for such scoundrels, when they are raised by favour so much above their desert, to be talking and writing their stuff, to give trouble to the government, that has showed them that favour; and very modest in a canting, hypocritical knave to be crying, 'The kingdom of Christ is not of this world,' at the same time that he, as Christ's ambassador, receives £6,000 or £7,000 a year." [1]

His Majesty was as impatient of artistic as of theological matters. During this same conversation he found fault with the Queen, who was very fond of pictures, for going into some of the great houses in London, to see the collections. "You don't see me," cried he, "running into every puppy's house to see his new chairs and stools. Nor is it for *you* to be running your nose everywhere, and trotting about the town to every fellow that will give you bread and butter, like an old girl that loves to go abroad, no matter where, or whether it be proper or no." [2]

On another occasion he was very angry with her for having removed during his absence in Hanover some pictures from Kensington to Hampton Court, and rearranging them so as to have the best in the Drawing Room, and some wretched signpost daubs hung where they would be less seen. He insisted on their being all replaced; and scolded Lord Hervey for giving to the Queen his "fine advice, when she was pulling my house to pieces and spoiling all my furniture: thank God, at least, she has left the walls standing." [3]

In fact, the whole conduct of the King towards the Queen, which had never been civil, had lately become so abominable

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 45 (1735).
[2] Do., p. 50.
[3] Do., vol. ii., p. 34.

and perpetually harsh and rough, "that she could never speak one word uncontradicted, nor do any act unreproved." He would come into the Gallery in the morning when she was drinking chocolate, and abuse her for being "always stuffing;" and then turn to the other members of his family, and vent the rest of his ill-humour on them, snubbing Princess Emily for not hearing him, Princess Caroline for being so fat, and the Duke of Cumberland[1] for standing awkwardly. The Princess Royal found him quite unbearable, and complained to Lord Hervey of "his giving himself airs of gallantry; the impossibility of being easy with him; his affectation of heroism; his unreasonable, simple, uncertain, disagreeable, and often shocking behaviour to the Queen; the difficulty of entertaining him; his insisting upon people's conversation who were to entertain him being always new, and his own being always the same thing over and over again."[2]

The Queen in her distress consulted Sir Robert Walpole, who could only attribute the King's ill-humour to the disturbance of his habits by the departure of Lady Suffolk from Court, and impressed upon her Majesty that someone should be found to take her place, "for it was impossible that the King should long bear to pass his evenings with his own daughters, after having tasted the sweets of passing them with other people's wives." In this view, however unpalatable it must have been to the Queen, Princess Caroline concurred, and said, "I wish with all my heart he would take somebody else, that mamma might be a little relieved from the *ennui* of seeing him for ever in her room."[3]

Lady Deloraine, who was a very handsome woman, and

[1] "Some lines of fortification," says Mr. Jesse in his *Summer's Day at Hampton Court*, "may still be seen in the Park, which were originally made to teach that art to William, Duke of Cumberland, when a boy," but I can find no confirmation of this assertion.

[2] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 422.

[3] Do., vol. i., p. 426.

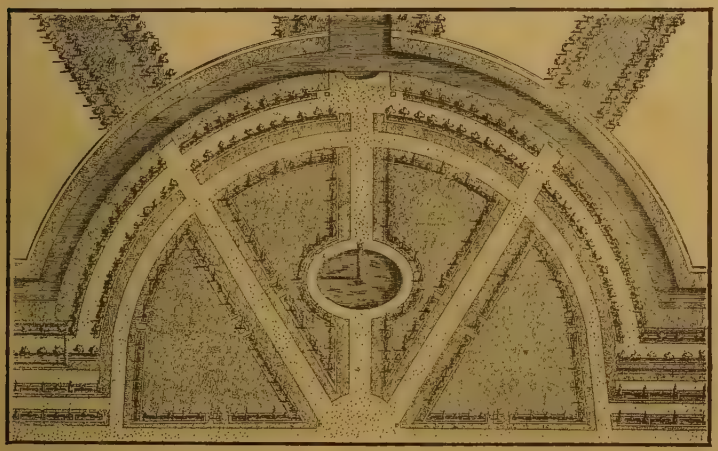
who already was favoured enough by the King to play with him in his daughters' apartments, was very anxious herself to succeed to the post; but the idea was opposed by Sir Robert, who thought her influence would be dangerous, as she had "a weak head, a pretty face, a lying tongue, and a false heart." Nevertheless, she now always sat with the King and played cards in the evening downstairs, as Lady Suffolk had done. And her ladyship, at any rate, was determined to achieve her ambition, and soon assumed the airs of a "maîtresse en titre." She said to Lord Hervey, "Do you know the King has been in love with me these two years?" To which he replied with great discretion, "Who is not in love with you?"

And she told Sir Robert "she was not of an age to act like a vain or a loving fool, but if she did consent, that she would be well paid," adding that, "nothing but interest should bribe her; for as to love, she had enough of that, as well as a younger man at home."[1] On another occasion, she was standing in one of the State Rooms with her little son, of about a year old, in her arms, when he said to her, "That's a very pretty boy, Lady Deloraine; whose is it?" To which she answered, before half-a-dozen people, "Mr. Windham's (her then husband), upon my honour," and then added, laughing, "but I will not promise whose the next shall be."

In the meanwhile, Queen Caroline occupied herself with her various pursuits of art, literature, and gardening; and she took up, especially, with the prevailing fashion of landscape gardening, of which Kent, who was no better horticulturist than painter or architect, was the prophet and oracle. It was about this time, and we may assume through her influence, that the large plain lawns were substituted for the numerous fountains and the elaborately figured flower-beds

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 350.

of scroll-work and lace-pattern, in the semicircular parterre in the Great Fountain Garden, (which are such prominent objects in the various engravings inserted in earlier chapters of this volume). This is shown in the accompanying cut, which is taken from a general bird's-eye view or plan of the gardens of Hampton Court, engraved by J. Rocque, dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and published in 1736.



View of the Great Parterre in the Great Fountain Garden, as altered about the year 1736. (From an engraving by J. Rocque.)

The alterations were carried out in deference to the taste adverted to by Pope, in the "Epistle to the Earl of Burlington":—

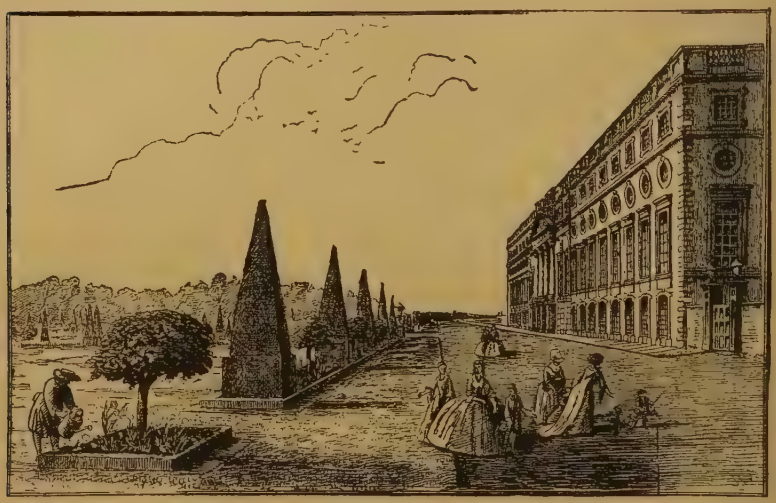
> Tired of the scene parterres and fountains yield,
> He finds at last, he better likes a field.

But Pope was a critic difficult to please; and though he himself contributed somewhat to bringing the new style into

vogue, he was as severe in his condemnation of these plain grass plats as of the figured beds, which they superseded. Thus, in another couplet, he censures him who—

> One boundless green or flourished carpet views,
> With all the mournful family of yews.

And, in a note of his own to this last line, animadverts on these "pyramids of dark green, continually repeated, not



Great Fountain Garden, after the Alterations in George II.'s Time. (From an engraving by Highmore and Tinney.)

unlike a funeral procession." How apposite was this criticism to the gardens at Hampton Court, will at once strike the reader on looking at the annexed print, taken from one of Highmore and Tinney's plates, published soon after the alterations were carried out, about the year 1736.

Again, in the same satire, Pope seems to point at these gardens, where statues of the fighting and the dying

gladiator were placed, on stone pedestals, in the centres of the lawns :—

> Here Amphitrite sails through myrtle bowers,
> There gladiators fight, or die in flowers.

It is fortunate, however, that the alterations were of this superficial nature, and that no attempt was made to follow every varying caprice of gardening fashion, which has ever been to destroy, in one generation, what the previous one "with incessant toil and hands innumerable scarce performed."

CHAPTER XVIII.

QUARREL BETWEEN GEORGE II. AND HIS SON FREDERICK—THE PRINCESS HURRIED FROM HAMPTON COURT.

George II.'s Hatred of his Son—The King on Fathers and Sons—Outward Appearances kept up—Further Bitterness—"The Nauseous Beast"—Rumours of the Princess being with Child—Her repeated Answer, "I don't know"—George II. wishes the Accouchement to take place at Hampton Court—The Princess in Labour—Hurried secretly by the Prince downstairs and along the Cloisters—"Racked with Pain"—Driven in a Coach to London—Delivered at St. James's—"A little Rat of a Girl"—The News announced at Hampton Court at Two in the Morning—The King in a violent Passion—The Queen goes to St. James's—Their Majesties' Indignation—"Scoundrel, Puppy, Knave, Fool, Liar, Coward"—Correspondence between Frederick and his Father—The King refuses to see his Son—"Verbiage of Sorrow"—The King declines to write and answer his Letters—The Queen visits the Princess—The Prince's Affectation of Respect—The Queen laid up with the Gout—The Prince ordered out of St. James's Palace—Sir Robert Walpole's plain English—"You lie, you lie, you lie"—A garbled Translation of the Correspondence published by the Prince—Rival Publication by the King—"The greatest Ass, the greatest Liar, the greatest Canaille, the greatest Beast in the whole World"—The Queen's Illness—Her Intimate Conversations with Lord Hervey—Her Death.

WE have now reached an epoch in the domestic life of George II., when the ill-feeling between him and his son Frederick, Prince of Wales, which had long been smouldering, and which was daily growing more intense, suddenly burst out into a fierce and open flame, through an act, on the part of the Prince, of crowning insult to his august Majesty. Of

this act Hampton Court was the scene, and we must consequently, as far as it relates to the subject of these pages, narrate what occurred in some detail.

It would seem that from the very day of the King's accession to the throne, he had been possessed with a feeling of deep animosity against his son, though the origin of the quarrel has remained, like that between George II. and his own father, an unsolved mystery. No doubt the Prince's seeking after popularity and courting the opposition, contributed not a little to excite his father's hostility, which had also communicated itself to the Princesses and the Queen, who, expressing herself in her forcible way, declared, "Popularity makes me sick, but Fritz's popularity makes me vomit." As for the King, he had latterly ceased to talk to or take any notice of his son. "Whenever he was in the room with him, it put one in mind of stories, that one has heard of ghosts, that appear to part of the company, and were invisible to the rest; and in this manner, wherever the Prince stood, though the King passed him ever so often, or ever so near, it always seemed as if the King thought the Prince filled a void of space."[1] Even to speak of him was disagreeable to the King; though occasionally he referred to him in an indirect way, which showed that his resentment burnt as fiercely as ever. One night at Hampton Court, the Queen was speaking of a man who had been ill-used and behaved ill at the playhouse, when the King said, "I suppose nobody knows such a scoundrel."[2] To which the Queen replied that "his name was Bray, and that the King knew his father very well." "His father," said the King, "might be a very worthy man, though his son is a puppy. One very often sees fathers and sons very little alike; a wise father has very often a fool for his son. One sees a father a very brave man, and his

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. [2] Do., vol. ii., p. 52.

son a scoundrel; a father very honest, and his son a great knave; a father a man of truth, and his son a great liar; in short, a father that has all sorts of good qualities, and a son that is good for nothing."

"But his Majesty drew this picture of a father and a son with so much eagerness, complimenting the one so strongly and inveighing against the other so vehemently, that the Queen (though a good deal mistress of her countenance), looking towards Lord Hervey, betrayed that she took the parallel as it was meant, and the King himself, feeling he had pushed it too far, turned off the ridicule he thought he had incurred, with quickness enough, by saying that sometimes it was just the reverse, and that disagreeable fathers had very agreeable men for their sons. I suppose in this case he thought of his own father, as in the other he did of his own son."[1]

Outward appearances, nevertheless, were still to a great extent preserved, and the Queen, who was anxious that there should be no open rupture, asked the Prince and Princess frequently to dinner, while the King was absent in Hanover in 1736. The Princess, too, sometimes came to hear the music, which was performed in the Public Dining Room, and to play cards in the Queen's Gallery at night.[2] These civilities, however, were only conventional, and when they were over, the Queen would yawn and say that "the silly gaiety and rude railleries of her son, joined to the flat stupidity of her daughter-in-law, had oppressed her to that degree that she felt ready to cry with the fatigue of their company, and felt herself more tired than she believed she should have done if she had carried them round the gardens on her back."

In the meanwhile, the Prince's efforts to get an increase

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 53. [2] Do., vol. ii., p. 132.

View, looking north-eastward, of the Palace and Gardens of Hampton Court in

ign of George II. From an engraving by J. Rocque, published about 1736.

of his allowance from the House of Commons, in opposition to the wishes of his father, led to still further bitterness between him and the rest of his family.[1] While this question was in agitation, no words were too severe for him—the terms in which the Queen and Princess Caroline spoke of him passing anything we should conceive possible, if it were not that we had them on the unimpeachable authority of Lord Hervey. "Neither of them made much ceremony of wishing a hundred times a day that the Prince might drop down dead of an apoplexy—the Queen cursing the hour of his birth, and the Princess Caroline declaring she grudged him every hour he continued to breathe," adding that the "nauseous beast cared for nobody but his nauseous self."[2]

The influence of the ministers led to the Prince's claims being defeated in both Houses of Parliament, and a week or so after, in July, 1737, his Royal Highness, stung with disappointment and thirsting for revenge, moved to Hampton Court with the rest of the Court to spend the summer.

For some time past a rumour had been current that the Princess of Wales, to whom the Prince had now been married about a year, was likely soon to become a mother; and the prospect of the birth of a future heir to the throne was anticipated with no small excitement in the palace. The Queen, however, was not disposed to place much credence in these expectations, for she had convinced herself, on some ground or other, that the Princess never could have a child; and all her efforts, also, to elicit the facts were thwarted by the Prince, who did not announce the Princess's pregnancy to his mother till long after he was himself aware of it, and would give no hint as to when her accouchement was likely to take place; and besides ordered his wife to give to all her Majesty's inquiries as to her condition the invariable answer

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 255. [2] Do.

of "I don't know." All this secrecy made the Queen afraid that he might have the intention, for the purpose of adding to his own importance, of imposing on them with a supposititious child, and her suspicions were heightened by the mystery, which was still maintained regarding the Princess's condition, and the impression, which had got about, that he intended that she should lie-in in London.

This design, at any rate, it was felt ought to be circumvented at all hazards; and her real or pretended confinement, whichever it might be, take place where the royal family might all be present. Measures were, in consequence, concerted between the King, the Queen, and Sir Robert Walpole for preventing the Prince's intention being carried out; and it was resolved that the King should send a message to the Prince to inform him that his Majesty wished the Princess to lie-in at Hampton Court. Lord Hervey told the Queen he believed that, notwithstanding any such message, the Prince would find excuses for disobeying; to which she replied, "Well, if it is to be so, I cannot help it; but at her labour I positively will be, let her lie-in where she will; for she cannot be brought to bed as quick as one can blow one's nose, and I will be sure it is her child. For my part, I do not see that she is big; you all say you see it, and therefore I suppose it is so, and that I am blind."

Notwithstanding all this, however, nothing was done, and Sir Robert Walpole continued to put off the sending of the message in spite of the Queen's remonstrances, saying that "as the Princess did not expect her confinement till October, there was plenty of time," until at last it was too late, and the message never went at all.[1]

On Sunday, the 31st of July, the Princess dined in public with the King and Queen, and afterwards retired to her own

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. All the following account is taken from the same work.

rooms to join the Prince, who had not spoken to the Queen since the failure of his application to Parliament, and who, it would seem, absented himself from their company. Their apartments were those situated in the north-east corner of the new palace, adjoining the Public Dining Room, and still known as the Prince of Wales's Rooms. Their position will be evident from the plan prefixed to this volume.

In the evening the King played at commerce below stairs, probably with Lady Deloraine, the Queen upstairs at quadrille, the Princess Emily at commerce, and the Princess Caroline and Lord Hervey at cribbage, just as usual; and all separated at ten o'clock, and went to bed at eleven, without hearing of anything unusual having happened.

In the meantime, however, a very different scene was being enacted in the Prince of Wales's apartments, for not long after dinner the Princess was taken ill with all the symptoms of actual labour, and when the Prince understood that her accouchement was close at hand, he at once gave orders for his coach to be got ready to take her to London.[1] "In this condition, M. Dunoyer, the dancing-master, lugging her down stairs and along the passages by one arm, and Mr. Bloodworth, one of the Prince's equerries, by the other, and the Prince in the rear, they with much ado got her into the coach; Lady Archibald Hamilton and Mr. Townsend remonstrating strongly against this imprudent step, and the Princess begging, for God's sake, the Prince would let her stay in quiet where she was, for that her pains were so great she could not set one foot before the other, and was upon the rack when they moved her."

"But the Prince, with an obstinacy equal to his folly, and a folly equal to his barbarity, insisted on her going, crying, 'Courage! courage! ah, quelle sottise!' and telling her,

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 364.

with the encouragement of a tooth-drawer, or the consolatory tenderness of an executioner, that it would be over in a minute. With these incitations, and in this manner, after enjoining all his servants not to say one word what was the matter, for fear the news of the Princess's circumstances should reach the other part of the house, and their going should be prevented, he got her into the coach."

Their departure must have taken place at about half-past eight, an hour at which it was still nearly broad daylight on the last day of July, and it is indeed surprising that no information of their going was conveyed to the King or Queen. The stairs down which the Princess was dragged, we presume to have been the Prince of Wales's Stairs, which are situated at the back of their apartments, and lead into the cloister of the Fountain Court.

Having reached the cloister, she must have been either hurried through the courtyards to the great western gate, or more likely through the Tudor cloisters, past the chapel, to one of the side doors in the Tennis Court Lane, whence they could have started with less danger of detection. In the coach, besides the Prince and Princess, were Mrs. Clavering and Mrs. Paine, two of the Princess's dressers, and Lady Archibald Hamilton, the Prince's mistress,[1] while Vreid, his valet-de-chambre, who was also a surgeon and man-midwife, was upon the coach-box, and Bloodworth, and two or three more, behind. Thus loaded, they drove full gallop to London, and reached St. James's about ten o'clock. On arriving at the palace, "the Prince ordered all the lights to be put out, that people might not have ocular evidence, which would otherwise have been exhibited to them, of his

[1] Both Mrs. Clavering and Mrs. Paine were afterwards presented by the Prince with handsome watches for their services on this night, and Lady Archibald "had one much finer than the others set with diamonds." See *Seventh Report of Historical Commission*, p. 513, MSS. of George Finch, Esq., M.P., at Burley on the Hill.

folly and her distress." Of course nothing was prepared for her reception. But "the midwife came in a few minutes; napkins, warming-pan, and all other necessary implements for this operation, were sought by different emissaries in different houses in the neighbourhood; and no sheets being to be come at, her Royal Highness was put to bed between two table-cloths. At a quarter before eleven she was delivered of a little rat of a girl, about the bigness of a good large toothpick case." The "little rat" grew up to be a fine woman, and was afterwards the Duchess of Brunswick. There are two pictures of her at Hampton Court, one as a nice-looking girl of fourteen in Knapton's interesting picture of the Prince's family, and another by Angelica Kaufmann, as a woman of thirty-three years, after her marriage.[1]

While all this was going on, not a suspicion of anything had yet reached their Majesties. But after the birth, the Prince despatched a courier to Hampton Court with the news of the Princess being in labour, who arrived at the palace at half-past one at night. When Mrs. Tichburne, one of the women of the bedchamber, came to wake the King and Queen, the Queen, as soon as she came into the room, asked what was the matter that she was being waked at so unusual an hour; and, as the most natural question, inquired if the palace was on fire. But when Mrs. Tichburne told her the Prince had sent to let their Majesties know the Princess was in labour, she immediately cried out, "My God, my nightgown! I'll go to her this moment." "Your nightgown, madam," replied Mrs. Tichburne, "and your coaches too; the Princess is at St. James's." "Are you mad," interrupted the Queen, "or are you asleep, my good Tichburne? you dream!"

[1] See the author's *Historical Catalogue*, Nos. 361 and 502.

The good Tichburne, however, insisting it was certainly true, the King flew into a violent passion, and in German (as the Queen told Lord Hervey afterwards) began to scold her, saying, "You see, now, with all your wisdom, how they have outwitted you. This is all your fault. *There is a false child will be put upon you*, and how will you answer it to all your children?"

The Queen said little, but got up, and dressed as fast as she could, and ordered her coaches, and within an hour set out for London with the two eldest Princesses, two of their ladies, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Hervey, and Lord Essex, lord of the bedchamber, who went to be despatched back to the King, to acquaint him how matters went. The details of what happened when they reached St. James's scarcely appertain to the history of Hampton Court. Suffice it to say that the Prince met her with every pretence of filial affection, as if nothing unusual had occurred; and after she had seen the Princess and the little child, announced his intention of coming to Hampton Court that day to pay his respects to the King, and to ask him to christen his daughter. "I fancy," said the Queen, "you had better not come to-day; to be sure the King is not well pleased with all this bustle you have made; and should you attempt coming to-day, nobody can answer what your reception will be."

The Prince then named Thursday, because it was one of the days on which the King received and dined in public; but the Queen said she thought Tuesday or Wednesday would be better.

Her Majesty then went to Lord Hervey's lodging, and wrote a short letter to the King, and despatched Lord Essex with it to Hampton Court. When he had gone she said to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Hervey, who, with the two Princesses, were the only persons present, "Well, upon my honour, I no more doubt this poor little bit of a thing is the

Princess's child, than I doubt of either of these two being mine; though I own to you, I had my doubts upon the road that there would be some juggle; and if, instead of this poor little ugly she-mouse, there had been a brave large fat jolly boy, I should not have been cured of my suspicions. But altogether," she continued, "was there ever such a monstrous conduct? such a fool, and such an insolent, impertinent fool?" And when Sir Robert Walpole, who had been sent for from Richmond, arrived, she burst out again, "Take it altogether, do you think there ever was so insolent as well as silly a behaviour? My God! there is really no human patience can bear such treatment; nor, indeed, ought one to bear it; for they will pull one by the nose in a little time, if some stop is not put to their impertinence." After a little further conversation, the Queen went back with the Princesses and Grafton and Hervey to Hampton Court.

On her arrival here at about eight o'clock in the morning, she found the King in the greatest state of anger against his son, inveighing against him as a "scoundrel and puppy, knave and fool, liar and coward."

During her absence, letters had arrived from the Prince to acquaint the King and Queen of the Princess's delivery. They were both in French, but in such bad French, and so ill-spelt, that one of them deserves to be reproduced here as a curiosity, if for no other reason.

St. James's de Juillet 31, 1737.

MADAME,

La Princesse s'étant trouvée fort mal à Hampton Court cette aprè dinné, et n'ayant personne là pour l'assister, je l'ai amené directment en ville pour sauver le temps que j'aurois perdu en faisant chercher Mrs. Cannons.[1] Elle a été delivrée une heur aprè, fort heureusement, d'une fille, et tous deux se portent, Dieu merci, aussi bien qu'on peut attendre a cette heur.

[1] The midwife.

La Princesse m'a charge de la mettre avec son enfant aux pieds de votre Majesté, et de la supplier de nous honorer tous trois de ses bontées maternelles, etant, avec beaucoup de soumission,

Madame,

Votre très humble et très obéissant fils et serviteur,

FREDERICK.

Most of the morning was passed in consultations between the King, Sir Robert, and the Queen, the result of which was that a written message, to be delivered to the Prince by Lord Essex, was decided upon, which was as follows :—

The King has commanded me to acquaint your Royal Highness that his Majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe delivery of the Princess, but that your carrying away her Royal Highness from Hampton Court, the then residence of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, under the pains and certain indication of immediate labour, to the imminent danger and hazard both of the Princess and her child, and after sufficient warnings, for a week before, to have made the necessary preparations for that happy event, without acquainting his Majesty or the Queen with the circumstances the Princess was in, or giving them the least notice of your departure, is looked upon by the King to be such a deliberate indignity offered to himself and to the Queen, that he has commanded me to acquaint your Royal Highness that he resents it to the highest degree, [and will not see you.]

With this message Lord Essex was despatched to St. James's on Wednesday morning, the last five words, however, being struck out.

When the Prince received this communication, he affected to be deeply pained at the King's displeasure, and sent a long answer full of false excuses and mock submission ; but as he did not admit he had committed a fault, but pretended to justify all he had done, by giving reasons for it, and pleading the advice of the doctors and the desire of the Princess ; and " as he added to this obstinacy the abominable falsehood, which the King and Queen knew to be

such, of this surprise only making him seem to forget his duty, when they knew he had before been determined to give them no notice of his going, whenever he went;" therefore his Majesty refused to give him leave to come to Hampton Court, and merely sent him a verbal message that he would not see him.

Next day, being Thursday, the Prince wrote another letter to his father, in the same strain, and entrusted it to Lord Carnarvon, a lord of his bedchamber, to take to Hampton Court. The King was at dinner in the Public Dining Room when the letter arrived; and as soon as he rose from table, he sent for Lord Carnarvon into the Queen's Gallery, and dismissed him while he read the letter. In it the Prince humbly craved his Majesty's leave to lay at his feet the grief he felt at having been forbidden his presence, and declared he could not find words to express how much he suffered from being deprived of that honour, and so on. The King, who was irritated beyond measure at all this "verbiage of sorrow" and affected respect, sent Lord Essex to Lord Carnarvon to let him know that "as the purport of this letter was just the same as that of the night before, it required no other answer;" and went into the Queen's State Bedchamber next door, to join the Queen. But Lord Carnarvon, doubtless unwilling to take back to the Prince so curt a verbal message, insisted on Lord Essex's giving him this answer in writing; upon which Lord Essex returned with a pen and ink to the King in the Queen's bedchamber.[1]

But before his Majesty could refuse or comply with this request, the Queen asked Lord Essex what he had returned for;

[1] Lord Hervey, who narrates this conversation, says in one place that it took place in the Queen's Dressing Room; and a little further on, that it took place in her Bedchamber, which seems, from the lie of the rooms, the more probable.

and when he told her, and asked, at the same time, whether he should call one of the ministers, she said, "For what?

Mantelpiece in the Queen's Gallery.

to give an answer to Fritz? Does the King want a minister to tell him what answer he likes to give his son? or to call a council for such a letter, like an *affair d'état?*" The

King, who, whilst they were speaking, was reading some letters, that had just arrived by the German post, on this turned round, and asked what was the matter. The Queen told him, and added, "But I suppose, sir, you will not write to your son; and I have already told Lord Essex that I believe he would trouble you upon this subject to very little purpose." On which the King then reiterated to Lord Essex that he would give no other answer, and in no other manner.

When Lord Essex went back with this message to Lord Carnarvon, Lord Carnarvon still insisted that he would have his directions in writing; and, after squabbling a good while, at last took a pencil out of his pocket, and, writing down what Lord Essex had told him, showed it to him, and asked him if those were the words. "And so they parted, Lord Carnarvon angry with Lord Essex that he had done no more, and the King and Queen angry with him that he had done so much. The Queen said Lord Essex should have only invited my Lord Carnarvon to dine with him when Lord Carnarvon asked him to write, and then gone to dinner, with or without him, just as Lord Carnarvon pleased."

While all this was passing in the Queen's Gallery and Bedchamber, Sir Robert Walpole was in one of the outer rooms, perhaps in the Queen's Drawing Room; and when Lord Carnarvon had gone, he came up to Lady Sundon, who was talking to Lord Hervey, and said, "There is the letter received, and the answer given, without my seeing the King or Queen; and yet, Lady Sundon, if the answer is disapproved, you'll hear me blamed for it."[1]

On the ninth day after the Princess was brought to bed, the Queen and her two eldest daughters went again to see the Princess at St. James's. It was on this occasion that a

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 399.

celebrated aggravation of the Prince's misconduct took place. Although he did not speak a word to her or his sisters the whole time they were there, which was more than an hour, yet, when she was going away, he led her to her coach, and because there was a mob assembled at the gate, to make them believe he was never wanting in respect, he knelt down in the dirty street, and humbly kissed her Majesty's hand. "Her indignation," as Walpole, who tells the story, observes, "must have shrunk into contempt." [1]

A week or so after this, the Queen was laid up with a violent attack of the gout; and on this occasion she first broke through the etiquette of the Court by seeing Lord Hervey in her bed. He used to sit with her almost the whole day, talking to, and amusing her; and when Lord North was sent from the Prince to inquire after her health, he wrote some impromptu verses to divert her, which he said would be a much sincerer message than what his lordship had delivered :—

> From myself, and my cat, and eke from my wife,
> I send my Lord North, notwithstanding our strife,
> To your Majesty's residence called Hampton Court,
> *Pour savoir, au vrai, comment on se porte !*
> For 'tis rumoured in town—I hope 'tis not true—
> Your foot is too big for your slipper or shoe.

And in the following lines he goes on to suggest, as the wish of the Prince, that the gout should be removed from the Queen's foot, to the more mortal regions of the head or stomach.[2]

The Queen, whose irritation against her son was still as keen as ever, and with whom no censure of his conduct could be too severe, was much diverted by these verses.

The King's anger, also, was still unabated; and on the

[1] Walpole's *Reminiscences* and Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 409.
[2] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 424.

10th of September, after consultation with his ministers, he sent a letter to the Prince, reviewing all his undutiful behaviour, and ordering him to leave St. James's with all his family forthwith. Nothing, indeed, could exceed his family's bitterness against him. The Queen, next morning at breakfast, repeated, every now and then, "I hope, in God, I shall never see him again;" and the King, among many other paternal *douceurs* in his valediction to his son, said, "Thank God, to-morrow night the puppy will be out of my house." Next day the secretaries of state signified to all the foreign ministers that "it would be agreeable to the King if they would forbear visiting the Prince;" and a message was sent in writing to all peers, peeresses, and privy councillors, that "whoever went to the Prince's Court would not be admitted into the King's presence;" and, as a further mark of his displeasure, the military guard was taken away from his Royal Highness.

The Prince accordingly removed to Kew, and from there, a few days after, the Princess wrote to the Queen a sort of apologetic letter, repeating all her husband's excuses and prevarications. This letter reached Hampton Court on Sunday morning, the 18th of September, just before the King and Queen were going to chapel; and her Majesty immediately sent it to Sir Robert Walpole, and while he read it, proceeded to the royal pew. Here Sir Robert joined their Majesties, and they began, according to their custom, and regardless of the sanctity of the place, to discuss the matter in an undertone, the Queen asking him what he thought of this last performance; to which the prime minister answered, that he looked upon it, put into plain English, to be nothing more or less than saying, "You lie, you lie, you lie, from one end to the other."

Of the same opinion likewise was Lord Hervey, to whom Walpole handed the letter behind the King's and Queen's

chairs, whilst they were at dinner in the Public Dining Room in the afternoon, though that was too public a place for any discussion of it. As for the King and Queen, they were more angry with this last letter than any they had yet received; and her Majesty next morning at breakfast could talk of nothing else.[1] However, on the advice of Lord Hervey, who said it was as reasonable to be angry with the paper on which it was written, or the pen that wrote it, as with the poor Princess, the Queen concocted as judiciously courteous a reply as she could bring herself to set her hand to.

The King's resentment was again inflamed to the highest pitch, shortly after, by the Prince's publishing and circulating a garbled translation of all the correspondence between him and his father; so that it might be made to appear to the public that his dutiful submission only met with unpaternal harshness. This and other circumstances determined the King and Queen to have all the original letters and messages that had passed between them, with literal translations, printed and sent all over the kingdom; and to make the case against the Prince the stronger, they added his declaration to Sir Robert Walpole, which was in direct conflict with his letters to his parents, and put in a N.B. to draw attention to his falsehood.

Lord Hervey, who was entrusted with this commission, and who owns, that the stronger the lie was given to the Prince in print, by the authority of the government, the better he liked it, was charged by them "not to embellish the fool's letters in the translation, or to mend the spelling in the original."

Their animosity to their son, in fact, had become so intense, that the King declared that he began to believe he could not

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 456.

really be his offspring, but must be "what in German we call a *Wechselbalg*, not what you call a foundling, but a child put in a cradle instead of another." On which Lord Hervey suggested the word *Changeling*, with which his Majesty was greatly pleased.

The Queen, if possible, was even more severe in her condemnation of her son, than the King. "My dear lord," said she to Hervey, "I will give it you under my hand, if you are in any fear of my relapsing, that my first-born is the greatest ass, and the greatest liar, and the greatest *canaille*, and the greatest beast in the whole world, and I most heartily wish he was out of it." Several times, also, at this period, she charged the King, before his daughters, that "if she should be ill and out of her senses, he should never let her son come near her; and whilst she had her senses, she was sure she should never desire it."[1] This was said possibly with some suspicion of the then precarious state of her health. For, twice during the past summer, she "had been seized with vomiting and purging, which had lasted in the most violent manner for three or four hours, and then left her so easy and well, that she had played the same night in the drawing-room as usual, and talked with the utmost cheerfulness."

Prince Frederick afforded a frequent topic of conversation to her Majesty and Lord Hervey, who still continued on terms of the closest confidence and intimacy. One morning in the autumn, at Hampton Court, they were alone together in the Queen's Gallery discussing the family quarrel, when the King opened the door at the farther end of the room from the so-called Queen Mary's Closet, which adjoined his apartments. Whereupon the Queen, annoyed at their conversation being interrupted, scolded Lord Hervey for having

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 472 and 500.

come so late, for "she had several things to say to him, and he was always so long in coming after he was sent for, that she never had any time to talk with him." To which he answered that, "it was not his fault, for that he always came the moment he was called; that he wished with all his heart the King had more love, or Lady Deloraine more wit, that he might have more time with her Majesty, but that he thought it very hard that he should be snubbed and reproved because the King was old, and Lady Deloraine a fool."

This made the Queen laugh; and as the King came up at this point, and asked her what she was at, to put him off she said Lord Hervey was telling her of what had passed between the Prince and Mr. Lyttelton; and out of fun left his lordship to invent something to tell his Majesty. Next time she saw Lord Hervey, she said, "I think I was even with you for your impertinence." To which he rejoined, "The next time you serve me so, madam, perhaps I may be even with you, and desire your Majesty to repeat as well as report."[1]

On October 28th, the Court left Hampton Court for London; and very soon after their arrival the Queen was seized with the illness from which she never recovered, and to which she succumbed on the 20th of November, 1737, without seeing her son, though she sent him a message of forgiveness.

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 468.

CHAPTER XIX.

GEORGE II.—HAMPTON COURT FORSAKEN.

Hampton Court deserted by the King—His occasional Visits with Lady Yarmouth—His Bedroom—Pitt kneeling by his Bedside—His Majesty's irritable Temper—Kicks his Wig about the Room—Boxes his Grandson's Ears—Hampton Court a Show Place—Horace Walpole's Story of the Miss Gunnings—In "The Beauty Room"—An Act of Parliament for a Bridge at Hampton Court—Curious Engravings of it—A second Bridge—Exorbitant Tolls—The third Bridge purchased and freed—A Roadway closed in Bushey Park—Murmurings at Hampton Court and Hampton Wick—Lord Halifax and the Shoemaker—The Right of Way vindicated.

AFTER the death of Queen Caroline we hear little of George II. and his Court residing at Hampton Court; and although it was not till the accession of George III. that the sunshine of royalty was permanently withdrawn, its decline in royal favour may be said to have begun from that time. Occasionally, however, George II. would come down to the Palace to spend the day, especially in the summer on Saturday afternoons, accompanied by his new mistress, Lady Yarmouth, and attended by half-a-dozen ladies and gentlemen of the household. "They went in coaches and six in the middle of the day, with heavy horse-guards kicking up the dust before them—dined, walked an hour in the garden,

returned in the same dusty parade; and his Majesty fancied himself the most gallant and lively prince in Europe."[1]

At other times the King would pass a few days here, though he never stayed long. The bedroom he occupied on these occasions still exists, pretty much in the state it then was; and in a room near it is the bed of crimson silk, which he used when last at Hampton Court, with his portmanteau placed at the foot of it. "After dinner," if we may believe Wraxall, "the King always took off his clothes, and reposed himself for an hour in bed of an afternoon. In order to accommodate himself to this habit, Mr. Pitt, when, as Secretary of State, he was sometimes necessitated to transact business with the King during the time he lay down, always knelt on a cushion by the bedside—a mark of respect which contributed to render him not a little acceptable to his Majesty. At his rising, George II. dressed himself completely a second time, and commonly passed the evening at cards with Lady Yarmouth in a select party."[2]

As George II. grew older, his temper did not improve, and when irritated by his ministers or attendants, he would kick his hat or wig about the room.[3] With his grandson, afterwards George III., his anger sometimes became quite uncontrollable; and once, in the State Apartments of Hampton Court Palace, his sacred Majesty so far forgot his kingly dignity as to box the ears of the youthful heir of the throne. This insult, it is said, so disgusted George III. with the place, that, according to his son the Duke of Sussex, he could never after be induced to think of it as a residence;[4] and it is to this, therefore, that is due the fact that, since the death of George II., Hampton Court has never been

[1] Walpole's *Reminiscences.*

[2] *Memoirs of his Own Time*, vol. i., p. 313.

[3] Do., vol. i., p. 417.

[4] Told to Mr. J. Heneage Jesse, by the person to whom the Duke of Sussex related it, while passing through the State Apartments. See Jesse's *Life of George III.*, vol. i., p. 10.

View, looking eastward, of the Diagonal Walks, in the Great Fountain Garden of Hampton Court, in the time of George II. From an old engraving published about 1740.

inhabited by any sovereign of these realms, and that the history of Wolsey's palace, which for nearly three centuries had formed part of the majestic current of English national life, has, during the last hundred years or more, flowed in a quiet and uneventful channel of its own.

Previous, however, to the accession of the third George, the Palace had gradually, as a consequence of the continued absence of the Court after the death of Queen Caroline, became more and more of a show place, to which excursions were frequently made from the neighbouring towns and country houses, and also from London. At this period, visitors were conducted through the State Rooms by the deputy-housekeeper, who, for her services, exacted a fee, the greater part of which found its way into the pockets of the lady housekeeper, whose post was consequently one much sought after and very lucrative.

Horace Walpole, who lived within three miles at Strawberry Hill, always took much interest in Hampton Court, and frequently came over to look at the pictures and study the architecture and archæology of the Palace; and to him we are indebted for the number of valuable observations on these topics, elucidatory of its history, art, pictures, and curiosities, which have been duly noticed in the course of these pages.

He records also an amusing story of the Miss Gunnings, the famous beauties, who, when the *furore* about them was at its height, could not walk in the streets or the park without being followed by hundreds of people; who found crowds collected at their door to see them get into their chairs; and whose rumoured presence at the theatre caused a run on the seats.

"As you talk of our beauties," wrote he to Sir Horace Mann, on August 31st, 1751, "I will tell you a new story of the Gunnings, who make more noise than any of their pre-

decessors since the days of Helen. They went the other day to see Hampton Court; as they were going into the Beauty-room, another company arrived; the housekeeper said, 'This way, ladies; here are the Beauties.' The Gunnings flew into a passion, and asked her what she meant; that they came to see the Palace, not to be shown as a sight themselves." [1]

The "Beauty Room," here referred to, is the one which we have once or twice noticed, on the ground floor, in the south range, under the King's Guard Chamber, now called the "Oak Room," and which is used for entertainments by the occupants of apartments in the Palace.

The youngest of the Miss Gunnings was married a few months after to the Duke of Hamilton, and the excitement about them was still so great, that when she was presented at the Drawing Room, "the noble crowd clambered upon tables and chairs to look at her;" and when on her way to the north, later in the year, "seven hundred people stayed up all night in and about an inn in Yorkshire to see her get into her post-chaise next morning."

Though the Court was now rarely at the Palace, the inconvenience of there being no means of getting from East Molesey on the Surrey side, to Hampton Court on the Middlesex side of the Thames—except by the ferry, which had existed, just opposite the "Toy" inn, since the time of Henry VIII.—was felt more and more in the neighbourhood, as the traffic continually increased. A bill was accordingly promoted in Parliament in the year 1750 by James Clarke, Esq., who, as lessee under the Crown of the manor of East Molesey,[2] and likewise of the ferry at Hampton Court, was the person most interested in improved communication, to enable him to build a bridge across the river

[1] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, ed. by P. Cunningham, vol. ii., p. 265.

[2] Brayley's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii., pp. 301, &c.

at this spot. In favour of the scheme a petition, influentially signed, was presented to the House of Commons on Friday, January 12th, 1750; and the bill, having passed both Houses of Parliament, received the royal assent on April 12th following.[1]

The bridge was designed and built by Samuel Stevens and Benjamin Ludgator, and opened for traffic on the 13th of December, 1753, as we learn from an engraving published at the time, entitled: "A Prospective View of Hampton Court Bridge cross the River of Thames. Opened Dec^r 13^th^ 1753." This plate, which was engraved by Grignion from a drawing by A. Heckel, gives a view of the bridge looking up the river; and on the right is seen the landing platform of the old ferry, just in front of the "Toy" inn, the sign-post of which can be distinguished, as well as a house on the opposite side of the road, probably identical with the present "Mitre Hotel." On the left—that is, on the East Molesey side and the Surrey bank—we make out the present "Castle" inn, then apparently called the "Prince of Wales," as his feathers are painted on the sign-board.

Another print, published in 1754 by "Robert Sayer in Fleet Street, opposite Fetter Lane," gives us a view of the bridge looking down the river towards the Palace. To the left is seen the old-fashioned gables of the "Toy," beyond which appears the gable end of the Great Hall of the Palace, and some houses, most of which still remain, also on the Hampton Court side of the river. At the Surrey end of the bridge just a glimpse is caught of the "Castle" inn, while through the third arch from the Middlesex side we recognize, in faint outline, the form of the Banqueting House. Of this engraving, which was executed by Hulet

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xx., pp. 41 and 186; D. Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 75.

after a drawing by Canaletti, we give a reduced facsimile here. From it the reader will perceive that the old bridge was a highly curious and picturesque structure, composed of seven light wooden arches; but it would puzzle anyone to make out, how horses and carriages could ever have been

The Old Bridge at Hampton Court.

(From an engraving by Hulet, after a drawing by Canaletti, published in 1754 by Robert Sayer in Fleet Street.)

driven across the strange and impracticable roadway, it must have afforded.

Its construction turned out, in fact, to be so defective, that within less than twenty-five years of its erection it became unsafe, and in 1778 was replaced by another bridge, more convenient in plan and more solid in structure, which was erected under the superintendence of Mr. White, a builder at Weybridge.

This second bridge, which was likewise of wood, with eleven arches, supported on piles and surmounted by a low parapet,[1] stood for nearly a century, and was an exceedingly picturesque, though somewhat lumbering feature, in the landscape. Unfortunately it became decayed, and in 1865 was removed to make way for the existing hideous structure of cast iron, one of the ugliest bridges in England, and a flagrant eyesore and disfigurement both to the river and to Hampton Court.[2]

At the time the original bridge was erected, its annual value to its owner, Mr. James Clarke, can have been but a few score pounds, if we take into account the interest on the cost of construction; and that he and his successors in title were never intended to make large profits out of it, is evident from the fact that a clause was inserted in the Act, doubtless at the instance of the advisers of the Crown, that if, at the expiration of Mr. Clarke's lease of the ferry in 1775, the Crown shall elect to defray the expense of the building of the bridge, both his right and the payment of the tolls should cease, and the bridge vest in his Majesty.[3] Unfortunately, however, this option of purchase was not exercised when the time arrived, probably because Hampton Court having by that time ceased to be a royal residence in the actual occupation of the sovereign, the ownership of the bridge was deemed of less importance. This was the more to be regretted, as the tolls authorized by the Act to be levied were on the most exorbitant scale—every coach drawn by six horses having to pay half-a-crown, and every one-horsed carriage or cab being charged as much as one shilling, while the unfortunate foot passenger, in deference to a strange

[1] Brayley's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii., p. 307.
[2] It was then the property of Mr. Thos. Newland Allen, and its building cost £11,176. The engineer was Mr. E. T. Murray, of Westminster Chambers.
[3] *Statutes at Large*, 23 Geo. II., chap. xxvii.

Sabbatarianism, was mulcted of a penny on Sundays instead of the usual halfpenny.

The result was that James Clarke's successors secured to themselves the whole benefit of the unearned increment, which might, and should, have inured to the benefit of the State, and they drew latterly a revenue of upwards of £3,000 a year from the pockets of a long-suffering and heavily paying public. At length, however, in 1876, the third bridge — the obnoxious structure mentioned above—was purchased for £50,000 by the late Metropolitan Board of Works, under the Act enabling them to devote the proceeds of the coal and wine dues to the freeing of the bridges in the vicinity of London; and thus, on the 8th of July, 1876, Hampton Court Bridge, in the midst of much popular rejoicing, was declared "free for ever."

The making of the new bridge over the Thames during the years 1750 to 1753, was not the only topic interesting the neighbourhood of Hampton Court at this period. For local feeling was just then keenly excited by the closing of a roadway through Bushey Park, which, it was asserted, had formerly been entirely free to the public. As early as 1744, Grove, in a note to his "Life of Cardinal Wolsey," animadverted severely on this encroachment, drawing an ominous parallel between the closing of this right of way and the attempted enclosure by Charles I. of an immense tract of country ten miles round between Richmond and Hampton Court, which had to be abandoned in consequence of the popular indignation it provoked.[1]

As Charles I.'s attempt was, in the view of many, "the forerunner of the melancholy consequences that followed," even so, he not obscurely hinted, persistence in the closing of

[1] See vol. ii. of this History, p. 126.

the right of way in question might lead to as fatal results in the case of his then Majesty.[1]

George II., however, was probably quite innocent of any part or share in these injudicious proceedings, which excited such hostile murmurings in and about Hampton Court. Like too many of the cases in which Royalty is brought into unpopularity, it was due to the selfish action of one of the dependants of the Crown, the second Lord Halifax, who—not content with all the lucrative offices, including the Keepership and Rangership of Bushey Park, and the occupancy of Bushey House, which he enjoyed by virtue of the grant from the Crown to his great-uncle, as before narrated,[2]—was now bent on turning Bushey Park into his own private property, regardless of the rights of his Sovereign and the convenience of his Majesty's subjects.

According to Grove, "No persons are permitted to pass through the Park without producing tickets, of which few or none are delivered to the inhabitants thereabouts." Although from this one might suppose that all passage through Bushey Park was interdicted to the public, it is more probable that it was only the footpath through the Harewarren, from Hampton Wick to Hampton Court, which Halifax had closed—it being scarcely to be supposed that he would have had the audacity to shut the great road in the centre of the Park, down the Chestnut Avenue, from Teddington to Hampton Court.

The grievance, at any rate, was borne with increasing impatience for some time, until, about the year 1752, a champion of the popular cause stepped forward in the person of a native of Hampton Wick, named Timothy Bennett. He, probably supported by more influential persons, boldly braved Lord Halifax's displeasure and appealed to the law.[3] In doing so

[1] See a note in Grove's *History of Wolsey*, vol. iv., p. 189, n. [2] See *ante*, p. 181.
[3] Brewer's *Beauties of England* (Middlesex), vol. x., part iv., p. 487.

he doubtless recalled how Oliver Cromwell had been the first to endeavour arbitrarily to close the road through the Harewarren, which had from time immemorial been open,[1] and how one of the first acts of Charles II. at his restoration had been to remove the obstruction, insolently placed by the usurper in the royal demesne, to the detriment of the King's property and the inconvenience and annoyance of his Majesty's lieges.

Whether the case ever came into court or not, the result of the action of the village Hampden, was entirely successful, and the right of free passage through Bushey Park triumphantly vindicated for ever.

The fame of the shoemaker's exploit not unnaturally spread far and wide, and to perpetuate the memory of his intrepidity and public spirit, a mezzotint portrait of the heroic Timothy was published bearing this inscription :—

"Timothy Bennet, of Hampton Wick, in Middlesex, shoemaker, aged seventy-five, 1752. This true Briton (unwilling to leave the world worse than he found it), by a vigorous application of the laws of his country in the cause of liberty, obtained a free passage through Bushey Park, which had many years been withheld from the people."

[1] See vol. ii., p. 182.

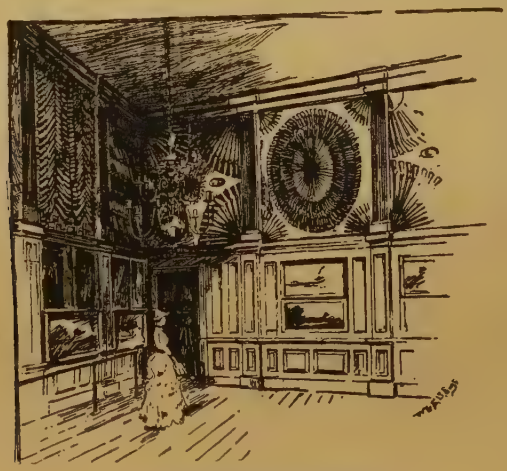
CHAPTER XX.

HAMPTON COURT DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—THE PALACE DIVIDED INTO PRIVATE APARTMENTS.

King George abandons Hampton Court altogether—The Furniture removed—The State Rooms disused—Rooms in the Palace granted to private Persons—The Great Gatehouse rebuilt—The Gardens under "Capability Brown," the Landscape Gardener—He declines undertaking their Improvement—The Great Vine—Its Age, Length, Size, and Girth—Its enormous Yield of Grapes—Not unique—Brown's Intimacy with George III.—The Keepership of Bushey Park vacant—Lord North appointed in his Wife's Name—His constant Residence at Bushey House—The Inhabitants of the Palace at George III.'s Accession—Discreditable Dodges to get Rooms—Court "Squatters"—George III. reforms the Management of the Palace—"Lodgings" granted by Letter or Warrant—Bradshaw, the Duke of Grafton's Secretary—Enormous Suite of Apartments given to him—The Palace divided into Suites of Private Apartments.

GEORGE III.'s accession to the throne, which took place on the 25th of October, 1760, marks, as we have already indicated, a new era in the history of Hampton Court; for thenceforth the regal splendours of the Palace came entirely to an end, it definitely ceased to be a residence in the actual occupation of the sovereign, and the whole building, with the exception of the State Rooms, was gradually divided into suites of apartments, allotted by the grace and favour of the King to private families.

King George's resolve not to occupy Hampton Court, whether dictated by motives of economy or by dislike of the place, seems to have been arrived at almost at once after he succeeded to the crown ; and one of the first items we can cull from the records, is an order from John Grey, "Clerk o'e Green Cloth," to the housekeeper to deliver "the keys of His Majesty's kitchens in the Palace at Hampton Court, in order that the kitchen goods may be



The King's Guard Chamber.

removed from thence to Westminster for his Majesty's service at the ensuing coronation." After this, bit by bit, many other articles of use and ornament were gradually removed. Even Raphael's cartoons, that had hung for sixty-eight years on the walls of the Gallery built expressly for them by William III., were removed, in 1766, to Buckingham House, and afterwards, in 1788, to Windsor Castle; whence, however, they were returned to Hampton Court, towards the close of George III.'s reign, in 1808.

Nevertheless, it may greatly be doubted, whether the King had formed a deliberate intention never to inhabit this Palace at all, and still more whether he contemplated that it should cease for evermore to be a royal residence. Its prolonged disuse by him, however, had, in effect, this result; for being gradually denuded of most of its furniture, and the State Apartments dismantled and untenanted during his long reign of sixty years, the expense of preparing it for habitation by the King and Court, would have been so considerable, that this fact alone would always have formed a sufficient obstacle to its being occupied, either by him or by his successors—if any of them had ever taken a fancy to do so.

A still more serious difficulty, also, in the way of any such project, would have arisen from the bulk of the palace having been apportioned into private apartments, which, though held during the pleasure of the sovereign, could not very well have been summarily cleared of their occupants. If, therefore, any of George III.'s successors ever contemplated resuming actual possession of this ancient home of their ancestors, they would have encountered so many obstacles, as must speedily have induced them to abandon the idea. Had the reign of George III., however, been a short one, the last hundred and thirty years of the history of this Palace might have been very different.

In the meanwhile, however, Hampton Court was not entirely abandoned to neglect—the Palace being still kept up, and a certain sum annually spent on necessary repairs. For instance, it is to this period of the first decade of George III.'s reign, that belongs the alteration of the Great Gatehouse in the West Front of the Palace, which, having fallen into decay, was partly taken down and rebuilt about the year 1773.[1] Unfortunately, however, it was not restored

[1] Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, vol. ii.

to its original form, for its proportions were maimed, and its height dwarfed by the removal of its two upper storeys,[1] and its general appearance spoilt by the use of a brick of a different colour to that in the old Tudor work, and by the absence, from the tops of the four angle turrets, of the leaden cupolas which, with their crockets, pinnacles, and gilded vanes, formerly gave so quaint and picturesque an aspect to this part of the Palace.

The contrast between the grand, lofty, deep-crimson Gothic tower, five storeys high, with its four angular turrets capped with cupolas, and the existing squat three-storeyed gateway, with its bare and truncated stumps of turrets, and its modern glaring scarlet brick, is a measure of the degradation of English taste from the age of Wolsey to that of George III.

As to the gardens at this period, they remained under the care of Lancelot Brown, the famous landscape gardener, better known as "Capability" Brown, on account of his frequent use of that word in reference to grounds submitted to his skill, who had been appointed Royal Gardener at Hampton Court in 1750 by George II.[2] He had been recommended for the post by Lord Cobham, whose service he had entered when a boy in 1737, and whose head-gardener he became at Stowe. George III. not only continued him in his post, but esteemed his character and admired and appreciated his talents so highly, as to admit him into his most intimate intercourse.

Luckily Brown, when asked by the King to "improve" the gardens here and adapt them to the modern style, had the good sense and honesty to decline the unpromising task, "out of respect to himself and his profes-

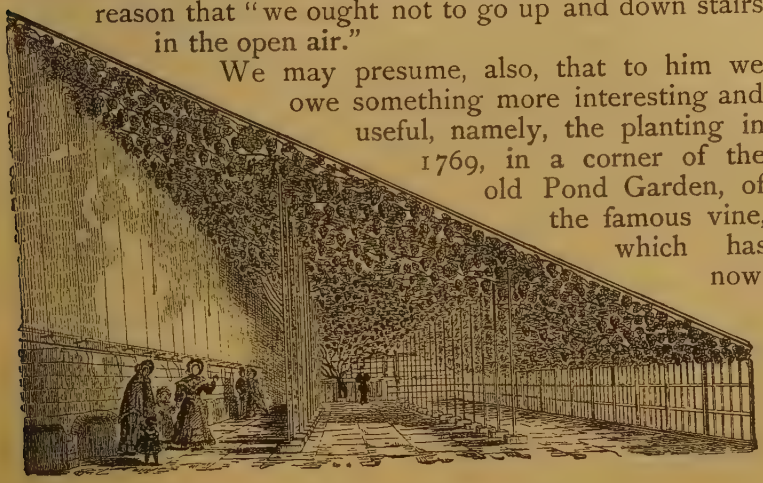
[1] See vol. i., p. 251.

[2] According to Dallaway, however, in his *Supplementary Anecdotes to Walpole's Modern Gardening*, he was not appointed Royal Gardener at Hampton Court until after 1770.

sion;" and thus they escaped the destruction that overtook so many of the old gardens of England, and have preserved —especially the Privy Gardens—much of their charming old-fashioned air to this day.

Nevertheless, it was probably he, who replaced most of the terrace steps in the Privy Gardens—though two flights were left—by gravel and grass slopes, for the theoretic reason that "we ought not to go up and down stairs in the open air."

We may presume, also, that to him we owe something more interesting and useful, namely, the planting in 1769, in a corner of the old Pond Garden, of the famous vine, which has now,



The Great Vine. (From a woodcut made about 1840.)

for upwards of a hundred years, been one of the great sights and curiosities of Hampton Court.

The vine is of the Black Hamburgh variety, and was originally a slip off one at Valentines, in the parish of Ilford, near Wanstead, in Essex, which itself had been planted in 1758 and attained a portentous size.[1] The vine at Hampton Court seems to have grown with much

[1] *Notes and Queries*, vol. xii., p. 404.

rapidity; for, some twenty years after it was planted, namely, in 1800, its yield was reported to be 2,200 bunches, weighing, on an average, a pound each, its stem 13 inches in girth, and its main branch 114 feet long;[1] while a visitor to Hampton Court in 1813 notes that it had the year before borne 2,278 bunches, and that the house was 72 feet long by 20 feet wide.[2]

Forty years ago its yield was stated to be, on an average, between 2,300 and 2,500 bunches, weighing about a pound each. But recently both the number and size of the bunches had fallen off, until in 1874 the crop was as low as 1,750, and in 1882 only 1,250, which was due, perhaps, to its having been previously over-cropped and mismanaged. Lately, however, it has been better cared for,[3] and the tree is greatly improved in appearance; but its average mature crop is not usually raised above 1,200—no less than 2,000 bunches or so being pinched off to improve the quality of the remaining fruit, and with great benefit to the old tree.

The greatest girth of its stem is now as much as 3 feet 9 inches, and its branches cover a space of 2,300 square feet. The length of the principal branch still remains stationary at 90 feet, doubtless because it had years ago reached the limit of the vine-house, which is now 90 feet long. Had the house been enlarged, the vine would by this time have covered a space three or four times as large as it does. Unfortunately its position, in a corner between two walls, makes its extension a matter of some difficulty, and no person in authority has yet taken sufficient interest in it to have this obstacle surmounted.

[1] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 72. From the information of Thomas Haverfield, principal gardener of Hampton Court in 1800.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 6341, f. 2b.

[3] By the present gardener, Mr. Jack.

Various conjectures have been advanced to account for the great size, to which it so quickly grew. Some have surmised that its roots have made their way into the vast drains of the Palace, or into a neighbouring cesspool, and that it has, in fact, been nourished on sewage.[1] This, however, is not the case. The filaments, which are found clinging to the brick walls of the now disused great sewer not far off, and which were probably mistaken for the roots of the vine, are nothing but fungous growths. If its luxuriance is to be ascribed to any special cause, it is most likely due to the roots having penetrated to the bed of the river, which is not more than 60 feet from the end of the vine-house.

It is a fact, however, that the vine is a plant, which very commonly grows to enormous sizes, and the one at Hampton Court, which has often been spoken of as the largest in Europe, if not in the world, is anything but unique in this particular, even in England. The parent vine at Valentines, for instance, is nearly as big;[2] the one at the Jesuit Seminary at Manresa House, Roehampton, has as great a yield of grapes, and covers 3,825 square feet of glass;[3] that at Sillwood Park, Sunninghill, occupies a house 129 feet by 12 feet, and produces 1,800 bunches annually; while the great vine at Cumberland Lodge, in Windsor Park, fills a house 138 feet in length, has a stem 3 feet 8 inches in circumference, and produces 2,000 bunches a year. The largest of all, however, is the one at Kinnel House, Breadalbane, Scotland, which covers 4,275 superficial feet of wall space.[4]

All these are of the Black Hamburgh variety, which, as it is the best adapted for cultivation in England, seems, also, the one most disposed to grow to gigantic dimensions. It

[1] Keane's *Beauties of Middlesex.*
[2] *Notes and Queries, ubi supra.*
[3] *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, August 18th, 1887, p. 139.
[4] Barron's *Vines and Vine Culture*, ed. 1883, p. 188.

is sometimes called the "Hampton Court Black Hamburgh," as the vine here has the reputation of being the true variety, producing small ovate berries.[1]

The Hampton Court vine, however, maintains an undisputed pre-eminence—after its parent of Valentines—for dignified age; and had the vine-house been continually enlarged, as the vine expanded its branches, there is no knowing to what size it might by this time have attained.

Reverting now to "Capability" Brown. He continued to reside many years at Hampton Court, much esteemed for his attainments both as landscape gardener and architect, and employed by all the principal persons of the day. Lord Chatham, who corresponded with him, writes of him in a letter to Lady Stanhope:[2] "The chapter of my friend's dignity must not be omitted. He writes Lancelot Brown *Esquire, en titre d'office:* please to consider he shares the private hours of the King, dines familiarly with his neighbour of Sion [the Duke of Northumberland], and sits down at the tables of all the House of Lords, &c. To be serious, Madam, he is deserving of the regard shown to him; for I know him, upon very long acquaintance, to be an honest man, and of sentiments much above his birth. As he lives at Hampton Court, and has many calls upon his time, he may not be at liberty."

Turning now, for a moment, to glance at the parks at Hampton Court, we must recall the fact, recorded in a

[1] Barron's *Vines and Vine Culture*, ed. 1883, p. 188. A vine, called the "Black Monukka," supposed to be of Indian origin, was introduced by the late Mr. Johnson, gardener at Hampton Court in 1850, and was by him sent to the Horticultural Society, and planted in the great conservatory at Chiswick, where it is now growing. Do., p. 191.

[2] Lord Cobham, Brown's former master (see *ante*, p. 296), was Lady Chatham's father. There is a letter from Brown to Chatham, dated Hampton Court, May 3rd, 1777, mentioning an interview he had lately had with the King, and containing many political allusions. *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iv., pp. 179 and 430.

previous chapter, which treated of the reign of Queen Anne,[1] that Charles, first Earl of Halifax, received from that Queen a grant of various offices and privileges, connected with the Manor and Palace of Hampton Court, and especially the Keepership of Bushey Park (for three lives). This grant was subsequently enlarged by George I. to his nephew, George, second Earl, and to *his* son George,[2] third and last Earl of Halifax, of the line of Montague, who succeeded to the offices, together with the occupancy of Bushey House, in 1739, and who was in possession of them during the early years of George III.'s reign.

In the summer of 1771, however, Lord Halifax fell dangerously ill, and on June 7th, the day before his death, the King, who knew he was dying, wrote to Lord North, already his favourite minister, saying: "I shall immediately appoint you Ranger of Bushey Park. As I am resolved to make out none of these grants but during pleasure, and have done so in the case of my own brothers, I am certain you will very willingly accept it on that footing, which from the conduct you uniformly hold, must be a tenure of a permanent kind." Next day Lord Halifax died, and on June 9th the King wrote again to North: "You will also direct a warrant to be prepared for appointing you Ranger of Bushey Park, and I cannot help adding the pleasure I feel on bestowing on you what you seem so much to desire."[3] From a letter, however, of Mr. Gerald Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft, dated June 13th, we learn: "Lord North has got Bushey Park in his wife's name, that it may not vacate his seat [in the House of Commons], but only during pleasure;"[4] and accordingly, on July 9th,

[1] See *ante*, p. 181.

[2] *Treasury Papers*, vol. cxcviii., No. 51, Feb. 27, 1716. Pat. 2 Geo. I. and Pat. 3 Geo. II. Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 57.

[3] *Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, vol. i., p. 74.

[4] *Chatham Correspondence*, vol. iv., p. 179, n.

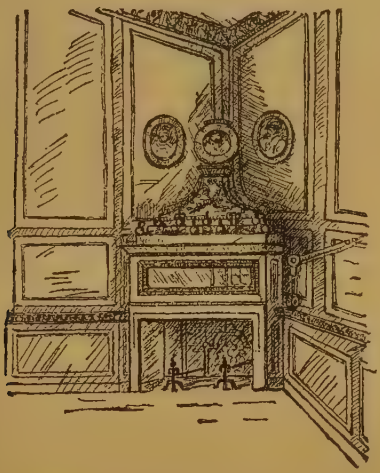
the "London Gazette" duly announced that Anne, *Lady* North, had been appointed "Keeper of Bushey Park, in or near Hampton Court."

Lord North soon after took up his residence at Bushey, of which he became very fond, and to which he came whenever he could escape from business.[1] After his final retirement from office in 1782 he continued to reside there until his death in 1792; after which his widow, then Countess of Guildford, remained on, until her own death in January, 1797. The Rangership and associated offices, together with the occupancy of Bushey House, were then given to William, Duke of Clarence, who dwelt there, as we shall see, until his accession to the throne as William IV.

Having made this digression concerning the occupants of Bushey House, we must resume the annals of Hampton Court Palace, and of its inhabitants, during the reign of George III. In reference to this topic, we should note, in the first place, that, on the accession of that monarch, there were, probably, but few persons residing in it, beyond officials and servants; though it is likely enough, that, here and there, some dependants of the Court were in occupation of apartments, to which they may have been admitted by permission or order of the Lord Chamberlain, or to which they might have acquired a sort of prescriptive right, by some of the irregular and surreptitious devices and methods, noticed under the reign of George I. These were, as we then explained—to prolong their stay indefinitely, on one pretext or another, in rooms assigned to them, when summoned to Court for a brief visit; to get a footing in the building, by begging a grant of a few rooms from the Lord Chamberlain, or by bribing the housekeeper, or some such functionary, to lend them a room or two, and then stealthily to add other neighbouring rooms thereto, until, by a mingled

[1] *Correspondence of George III.*, vol. ii., p. 109.

system of begging, borrowing, and stealing, these Court "squatters," as we might term them, sometimes procured for themselves whole suites of large and comfortable apartments—such were some of the discreditable dodges resorted to by the more unscrupulous of the hangers-on of royalty. Indeed, successfully to circumvent these tortuous practices, and to extend an adequate supervision over a palace of the enormous size of Hampton Court, with its innumerable rooms,



Fireplace in the King's Dressing Room.

and its nooks and corners of all sorts, was a task, which would have taxed the resources even of the most vigilant of Lord Chamberlains. Thus it was that the authorities, to save themselves an infinity of trouble, sometimes thought the best way out of the difficulty, was officially to recognize and legalize the occupancy of the "squatter," to avoid the scandal of forcible evictions.

In these matters, however, George III., who was deter-

mined to be king in fact as well as in name, endeavoured to introduce reform; and the management of his palaces being organized with greater strictness, these reprehensible practices were, to a great extent, restrained.

From the very first year of his reign he laid down the rule, that no one was to occupy rooms in Hampton Court Palace without a written authorization from the Lord Chamberlain addressed to the housekeeper, specifying the exact suite granted; and, as he seems very soon to have decided to devote most of the palace to the use of private families, the empty "lodgings," as they were termed, were rapidly assigned to various persons, at first by letter, and subsequently, from about the year 1765, by warrants under the hand of the Lord Chamberlain. It was by virtue, probably, of the former of these means that William Gerard Hamilton, generally known as "Single-speech Hamilton," and at one time secretary to the Earl of Halifax, was in occupation of an apartment here during the years 1762 to 1765.[1] He may have resided in those to which Halifax was entitled as "the hereditary Keeper of Bushey Park."[2]

Another celebrity—or rather notoriety—of a bygone age, who was given apartments in Hampton Court Palace at this time, was Thomas Bradshaw, private secretary to the Duke of Grafton when Prime Minister, and one of the victims of the lash of Junius.[3] He appears originally to have been clerk to a contractor for forage, and according to the great satirist, "his first appearance in the great world was as one of Lord Barrington's domestics, from whence he moved to Ireland, and set up a shop," but soon "returned to England, where, by means of his uncommon address in administering to the *pleasures of the great*, he was appointed

[1] *Historical Commission, Eighth Report, Lord Emly's Papers*, part i., pp. 189, a and b, and 190 b.

[2] See Appendix G, Suite XVI.

[3] *Letters of Junius*, ed. Woodfall (1814), vols. i., p. 497, and ii., p. 99, n.

one of the Secretaries of the Treasury." Junius, in fact, bluntly declared that his preferment was the reward of his having acted as go-between for the Duke of Grafton in his intrigue with the notorious Nancy Parsons. As a result he became his Grace's confidant and bosom friend; and, in further recognition of his services, was given a pension of £1,500 a year for three lives,[1] and in May, 1772, was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty. Junius's letter to "their Lordships," congratulating them "on the acquisition of such a *brother member*," and hoping that he would assist them "with his good offices upon all occasions," is one of the most scathing that ever came even from that caustic pen.[2]

Previous to this last promotion, however, Bradshaw, through the influence of his ducal patron, had been given, as we have said, about the year 1770, a suite of apartments in this Palace; and a magnificent and extensive suite it was. For this rapacious pander, not to be satisfied with an ordinary suite of some fifteen or twenty rooms—such as those formerly considered good enough for the Royal Dukes, or such as the one then inhabited by the Duke of Grafton's own mother, as we shall see—procured for himself an immense block of the Palace, comprising about sixty or seventy rooms, which, when subsequently divided, formed three ample separate suites.[3] Bradshaw, however, did not inhabit his apartments long, for, having squandered all his gains, and being unable to go on a week longer, he shot himself in the autumn of 1774.[4]

Another of the Duke of Grafton's private secretaries, Mr. Richard Stonhewer, was also given apartments at Hampton Court;[5] but he was a man of very different

[1] *Letters of Junius*, ed. Woodfall (1814), vol. iii., p. 261.
[2] Do., vol. iii., p. 450.
[3] See Appendix G, Suites XXXV., XXXVII., and XXXVIII.
[4] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. v., p. 144.
[5] See Suite XI. Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vols. v.-viii. *passim*.

stamp; he was a friend of Horace Walpole's, and took much interest in literary matters.

In the meanwhile, the process of filling up the whole palace was not completed straight off; indeed, some of the apartments were not appropriated to anyone's use until the beginning of the nineteenth century. This will be seen by a reference to Appendix G, which contains a tolerably exhaustive and accurate list of all the persons, who have inhabited Hampton Court, from the beginning of the reign of George III. to the present time, under headings indicating the apartments they held.[1] The exact position and number of the rooms composing the various suites cannot, however, be accurately determined in every case; for the indications afforded by such of the letters and warrants, as are extant, are anything but clear, and besides, the arrangements of the apartments have, now and then, though not often, been altered—a room or two being exchanged or taken from one set and added to another, two suites being sometimes thrown into one, or one divided into two, and occupants frequently removing from one part of the palace to another. As far, however, as they can be made out, they are shown in the list just referred to.

[1] In the compilation of this list I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Miss Antonia St. John, daughter of the late Lady Isabella St. John, who for many years occupied the suite of apartments numbered XII. Miss St. John searched the old letters and warrants with great care, and was the first to group many of the names under their respective suites.

CHAPTER XXI.

GEORGE III.—THE PRIVATE APARTMENTS AND THEIR OCCUPANTS.

Hannah More's Remarks on the Palace and its Inhabitants—Their Position and Means—Qualifications for the Favour of Apartments—The Lord Chamberlain's Patronage—Dr. Johnson applies for Apartments—His Application refused—Old Form of Warrant—Irregular Practices by the Occupants of Apartments—Gross Abuse of the Letting of Apartments—Indignation of George III.—Stringent Rule against this Practice—Continued Prevalence of the Abuse—Social Life at the Palace—Horace Walpole and his Relations—Lady Malpas—The Waldegraves at the Pavilions—The Keppels at the Stud—Accident to Horace Walpole in the Palace—Walpoles at Hampton Court for upwards of a hundred Years—Richard Tickell—Throws himself from a Window of his Apartments—The Prince of Orange established in the Palace—Reminiscences of his Residence—The "Frog" Walk—George III. and the Bridge Toll-Collector—Increased Interest in Hampton Court—The Great Hall cleared of the Stage—Raphael's Cartoons returned—Supposed Relics of Cardinal Wolsey.

IN the early part of the reign of George III., the apartments in private occupation, which now amount to about fifty-one—exclusive of those tenanted by the housekeeper, the clerk of the works, the head gardener, the custodian of the pictures, the foreman of the works, and some half-a-dozen other officials and workmen—did not number more than about forty. Concerning their inhabitants at this period, we find a few remarks in a letter of Hannah More's—"Holy" Hannah, as Horace Walpole used to call her—who was a

frequent guest of Garrick's in his villa at Hampton, and who spent a few days in the Palace about the year 1770.[1] "The private apartments are almost all full," writes she; "they are all occupied by people of fashion, mostly of quality; and it is astonishing to me that people of large fortune will solicit for them. Mr. Lowndes has apartments next to these, notwithstanding he has an estate of £4,000 a year. In the opposite ones lives Lady Augustus FitzRoy. You know she is the mother of the Duke of Grafton."

The rooms occupied by Mr. Lowndes were Suite XI.,[2] in the range of building on the south side of the First Court; those in which Hannah More was staying were probably the suite next to Mr. Lowndes's, in the same range, to the west, namely, Suite XII.;[3] while Lady Augustus FitzRoy was in Suite IX,[4] in the opposite range, on the north side of the court.

The astonishment expressed in Miss More's letter that rich people should solicit the favour of apartments at Hampton Court, betrays a strange want of knowledge of the world on the part of "Holy Hannah;" though the success of their solicitations might well have moved her surprise. On the whole, however, the persons who received grants of rooms at this time, though usually of position and rank, were not generally of large means; nor do they appear, on the whole, to have been altogether undeserving objects of the King's favour. In many cases, at any rate, it is clear that apartments—which, it may be observed, were then held by gentlemen as well as ladies, and by married ladies as well as

[1] Roberts' *Memoirs of Hannah More*, vol. i., p. 41.

[2] Now occupied by Mrs. Ward Hunt, widow of the late Right Hon. Ward Hunt, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Beaconsfield's administration.

[3] Now occupied by the Misses Conolly, daughters of the late Colonel John Augustus Conolly, V.C.

[4] Now occupied by the Hon. Mrs. William Law.

maiden ladies and widows—were often given in reward for, and recognition of, the services of the recipients, or of their immediate relatives, in the Army or Navy, or at Court.

But of course the most important qualification in favour of an applicant, in the days when George III. was king, was the friendship of someone at Court, and especially of the Lord Chamberlain, who, in the absence of any decided preference on the part of the King, looked upon the nomination to a vacancy in the Palace as, in a certain sense, his own particular patronage. This being so, it was but natural that his Lordship, whoever he might be, should consider that there could not possibly be more worthy recipients of the royal favour than "his sisters, and his cousins, and his aunts."

This may, perhaps, help to explain why the following application of Dr. Johnson to Lord Hertford in 1776 met with the answer it did :—

MY LORD,

Being wholly unknown to your lordship, I have only this apology to make for presuming to trouble you with a request—that a stranger's petition, if it cannot be easily granted, can be easily refused. Some of the apartments at Hampton Court are now vacant, in which I am encouraged to hope that, by application to your lordship, I may obtain a residence. Such a grant would be considered by me as a great favour; and I hope, to a man who has had the honour of vindicating his Majesty's government, a retreat in one of his houses may be not improperly or unworthily allowed. I therefore request that your lordship will be pleased to grant such rooms in Hampton Court as shall seem proper to,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient
and humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Bolt Court, Fleet Street,
April 11, 1776.

This letter is endorsed: "Mr. Samuel Johnson to the Earl of Hertford, requesting apartments at Hampton Court,

May 11th, 1776;" and also with a note of the answer: "Lord C.[hamberlain] presents his compliments to Mr. Johnson, and is sorry that he cannot obey his commands, having already on his hands many engagements unsatisfied."

It is curious that this fact in the life of Dr. Johnson should have eluded the curiosity of Boswell, and the research of his editor, Croker. We cannot but regret that Lord Hertford did not see his way to granting the great lexicographer's request, by which Hampton Court would have been enriched by another set of reminiscences and associations.

The form of the warrant in use from about 1765 to 1775, we have inserted in Appendix G. It was merely an order from the Lord Chamberlain to the under-housekeeper, to deliver the keys and possession of certain rooms to the person to whom they were granted, to be held by the grantee until further order. This simple form, however, soon proved insufficient for the circumstances; for it was found that the ladies and gentlemen holding apartments were so little sensible of the favour they enjoyed, as often to make no use of them for months and even years together, and also to go away and leave them without anyone to take care of them, or without even handing the key to the housekeeper.

In consequence of this, a regulation had to be made about the year 1781 against such lax practices. It was embodied in the new form of warrant, which was used thenceforth, and in which it was expressly stated that "the Lodgings are to be inhabited by [Her Ladyship] or some part of her Family a part of every Year, or they will be supposed Vacant and disposed of accordingly; and when [Her Ladyship's] Family are absent from Hampton Court, it is expected that a servant of their own shall be left in the Lodgings, or that they will leave the keys thereof with the Under-housekeeper, for the time being, agreeably to the late Regulation."

But a much graver scandal than that aimed at in this regulation had, in the meantime, grown up, and was flourishing rankly at Hampton Court—namely, that some of the residents, looking on the rooms, which they held in the palace of their Sovereign, during his royal pleasure, as if they were their own freehold, coolly proceeded, without asking anyone's leave, to make alterations in permanent structures, to exchange and barter rooms with each other, and actually to *let* their rooms, not only to their relations and friends, but sometimes even to any stranger, who would pay them their price.

This last most gross and improper practice is referred to in a letter written by order of the Lord Chamberlain, on the 9th of September, 1778, where it is pointed out to the deputy-housekeeper that "as it is a Rule laid down, under his Majesty's approbation, that no Apartments granted in His Palaces, by the Lord Chamberlain, should be held by Persons, who have not His Lordship's Warrant and Indulgence for the same; His Lordship desires that you will take care that this Rule is not infringed in Hampton Court Palace."

Little attention, however, seems to have been given to this warning by the guilty parties; and, indeed, the abuse continued to prevail to such an extent, that at last King George III. became so excessively indignant at the scant respect paid to his wishes, and at the way his orders were systematically disregarded by the recipients of his favours, and at the gross misconduct, as he considered it to be, of those who, living in his house as his guests, by his gracious permission, were so impertinent as to lend *his* rooms to other people without his leave or sanction, that he instructed the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hertford, to address a stringent letter to the housekeeper of Hampton Court Palace condemning in forcible terms this and similar irregularities :—

Lord Chamberlain's Office,
July 20th, 1780.

MADAM,

The King having lately expressed to me His extreme displeasure at the present State of His Palaces, and particularly upon a custom which has lately crept into them of Lending Lodgings, and transferring them from one person to another, and from one Family to another, without the consent of His Majesty or the knowledge of His Servants, whom he is pleased to entrust with his commands about them :

I am to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure in Order that it may be communicated to the several persons, who possess Apartments in Hampton Court Palace by His Majesty's favour, that such a practice will not be permitted in future. Those who have Lodgings in it, of which neither they nor their Families make use, are expected to give them up and return the keys into your Hands. It is not thought right by His Majesty, nor was it ever the intention of those who executed His Commands, that such a practice should prevail, or that any Lodgings should be let or transferred to strangers without the King's consent had been first obtained for that purpose.

The reason for the Order which I am now to signify, by His Majesty's commands, are too obvious to require Illustration. This mode of transfer prevents His Majesty from favouring such persons as he may think most proper to indulge with Lodgings. His Majesty so far from being consulted or His own pleasure being necessary to give Lodgings to any person who may apply for them, will not even know, except by accident, the persons residing in his Palaces ; they will become a kind of freehold to any persons who can once obtain possession therein, and the abuse of such a custom may grow in time, and in other hands, than those who now possess the Lodgings, to be still more unpleasant and offensive to His Majesty, and produce a transfer for motives far less pure than those of Friendship or Acquaintance, as was notoriously the case at Somerset House.

I am,
Madam,
Your humble servant,
HERTFORD.

To Mrs. Mary Anderson, Under Housekeeper, etc.

The transfer of apartments "for motives far less pure than those of friendship or acquaintance," constituted, of course, the gravamen of the offence; and we regret to have to record that, in spite of incessant remonstrances from the Lord Chamberlain's office during the subsequent sixty years or so,[1] some of the inhabitants of Hampton Court Palace—though they stopped short of the scandal of openly letting their apartments—continued to indulge in this irregular practice "under the rose," throughout the reigns of George III., George IV., and William IV.

Of the inner social life of Hampton Court Palace at this period, we shall not attempt any exhaustive or elaborate description; in the first place, because there is but little special material for the purpose, and in the second, because a general idea of it can easily be obtained by the perusal of the letters of Horace Walpole, who, living at Strawberry Hill, but four miles off, was in the same social atmosphere, as it were, as the inhabitants of the Palace, and who frequently met them at dinners, balls, and parties, either in the neighbourhood, or in their own apartments. Many of them, indeed, were his own near relations; and writing to Lady Ossory from Strawberry Hill on the 4th of August, 1782, he observes: "I have dined again with Princess Amelia and with the Hertfords at Ditton, and see a great deal of my family, who are cantoned around me like those of a patriarch, when tribes begin to increase and remove to small distances. My brother [Sir Edward Walpole] is at Isleworth, Lady Dysart at Ham, the Keppels at the Stud, the Waldegraves at the Pavilions, and Lady Malpas in the Palace."[2]

[1] Another similar letter is dated Dec. 5th, 1818.

[2] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. viii., p. 262. In this letter he mentions that George Selwyn, who had called on him, was gone to stay with Colonel Keene, on Hampton Court Green.

Lady Malpas was Horace Walpole's niece by marriage, Viscount Malpas, her husband, being the eldest son of his only sister Mary, who married the second Earl of Cholmondeley.[1] Lord Malpas dying before his father in 1764, and leaving his widow in rather straitened circumstances, she was given apartments in the Palace in June, 1782, two months before the date of Walpole's letter. Her apartments were Suite XVIII. in the "Gold Staff Gallery."[2]

By the "Pavilions," Walpole signifies the buildings at the end of the Long Walk, so often mentioned already in this volume, where there was then residing his niece, Maria, Sir Edward Walpole's second illegitimate daughter, whose first husband was Earl Waldegrave, but who was, at this time, the wife of the Duke of Gloucester, George III.'s brother. She was the most beautiful woman of her day—"not a fault in her face and person, and the detail charming. A warm complexion, tending to brown, fine eyes, brown hair, fine teeth, and infinite wit and vivacity."[3] With her at the Pavilions were her three beautiful and far-famed daughters, the Ladies Waldegrave, so well known from Sir Joshua Reynolds's charming picture. The eldest, Elizabeth Laura, married a year or two after this her cousin, the 4th Earl Waldegrave; the second, Charlotte Maria, married the 4th Duke of Grafton, whose grandmother, Lady Augustus FitzRoy, great grandmother, Mrs. Cosby, and uncle, Lord Southampton, had apartments in the Palace;[4] and the youngest, Anne Horatia, married Lord Hugh Seymour, and thus became the mother of Sir George Seymour and Sir Horace Seymour, both of whom, as we shall see, likewise had apartments here subsequently.

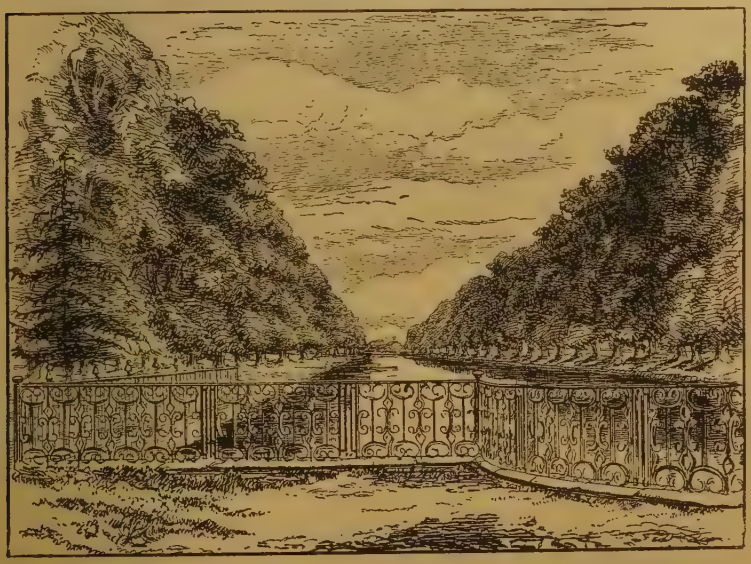
[1] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 409.

[2] See Appendix G, *post*.

[3] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. iii., pp. 218 and 226. For further particulars of the Duchess of Gloucester, see Appendix G, Suite XLVII.

[4] See Suites IX., XIV., and XV.

"The Stud," where, Walpole tells us, the Keppels were staying, was evidently the Stud House in the Home or House Park, situated on the north side of the Long Canal, the official residence of the Master of the Horse, now in the occupation of Colonel Sir George Maude, K.C.B.,



View, looking east, of the Long Canal and Great Avenue in the House or Home Park.

Crown Equerry.[1] Mrs. Keppel was another of Horace Walpole's nieces, being Louisa, Sir Edward Walpole's eldest illegitimate daughter, who married the Hon. and Rev. Frederick Keppel, Dean of Windsor and Bishop of Exeter, and who, in 1777, was left a widow with one son and three daughters.[2]

[1] See Appendix G, Suite LII.
[2] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. iii., p. 155.

It was apparently to the Misses Keppel that Walpole alluded in a letter to Lady Ossory, dated November 10th, 1782: "You are very kind about my nieces, madam; but I do not believe there was the least intention of hurt to them. The gentlemen were cleaning their pistols at the window of the 'Toy,' and discharged them as the girls were going by. Mrs. Keppel took an alarm; and much less falling on such a soil as Hampton Court will bring forth lies an hundredfold." [1]

One of these ladies, Mrs. Keppel's second daughter, Laura, a "beautiful girl, more universally admired than her sisters, or cousins the Waldegraves," [2] married two years after the first Lord Southampton's eldest son, whom she doubtless met at the Palace, where Lord Southampton had apartments, as well as his mother, Lady Augustus FitzRoy, as we have already seen.[3]

It was when visiting some of his relations or friends in the Palace, that Horace Walpole met with an accident, to which he refers in a letter to Lady Ossory, under date September 13th, 1789: "The night before last, going into a stone hall at Hampton Court, a very low step, that I did not perceive in the dark, tripped me up. . . . I fell headlong at once on the stones, and against the leg of a table, bruised one of my fingers, and both knees and an elbow, and battered my hip so much that it has a patch as large as the crown of a hat, and as black; but there again my featherhood saved me, and I did not break one of my strawbones." [4]

In regard to the connection of the family of Walpole with Hampton Court, it is curious to note that the year before this accident of Horace's, a cousin of his, Colonel Lambert Theodore Walpole, married one of the great Lord

[1] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. viii., p. 303.
[2] Do., vol. viii., p. 487.
[3] *Ante*, pp. 308 and 314.
[4] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. ix., p. 222.

Clive's daughters, Margaret, who, her husband being killed in the Irish Rebellion in 1798, was given apartments in this Palace in 1812.[1] She occupied them, however, only two years, as she died in 1814; but five years after, her daughter, Frances, received a warrant for another suite,[2] in which she lived with her sister Charlotte, for sixty-seven years, until her death in September, 1886, at the age of ninety-seven, her sister dying in November the following year, at the age of ninety-eight. These interesting old ladies well remembered their cousin Horace, who himself as a boy had kissed the hand of George I. One or two more such links, and we should be carried back to Cardinal Wolsey.

In the meanwhile, the widow of Colonel Sir Robert Walpole, K.C.B., having been given apartments in 1878 (see Suite II.), the connection of the family with the Palace still continues, after having been maintained nearly uninterruptedly for upwards of a hundred years.

With regard to the other inhabitants of Hampton Court at this period, namely, the close of the eighteenth century, beyond Horace Walpole's relations, and the persons referred to in Hannah More's letter, which we cited above, we need not linger long over their names—for to the present generation most of them are but names, and little more, few of them having left any impress on the history of their times. We have endeavoured, however, to make out the identity of all of them, as far as possible, in Appendix G, adding such notes of the main facts of their lives, as may serve to link them to those, who were connected with them by family, marriage, or other ties, and who were more or less prominent in the political and social life of England a hundred years or so ago; and as may also show by what influence, or on what grounds, they obtained their grants of rooms.

Among them, nevertheless, there were some, who are de-

[1] See Suite XIII. [2] See Suite XLIII.

serving of more prominent notice here. Such, for instance, was Richard Tickell—grandson of Addison's Thomas Tickell—who was given apartments, by a warrant dated the 28th of September, 1782, in what is called the "Gold Staff Gallery"—the suite of rooms lately in the occupation of Lady Colley.[1]

Tickell was a brother-in-law of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, his first wife, who died in 1784, being Mary, sister of the beautiful Miss Linley, Sheridan's first wife. He was an author of some distinction, being, as was said of him by Mathias, "one of the happiest occasional writers of his day." His poem, "Anticipation," which is full of wit and satire, was considered by Lord North's ministry to be so serviceable to their party, that he was given the appointment of a Commissioner in the Stamp Office.[2] His apartments at Hampton Court were probably also a reward for political services. He was a man of great conversational talents and conviviality, but, like too many men with these captivating qualities, subject to the reaction of fits of deep depression. It was in one of these, that Tickell, on the 4th of November, 1793, threw himself from the window of his bedroom in the Palace—which, as his apartments were in the uppermost storey, was a height of sixty feet—and was killed on the spot.[3] "The fall was so violent, that there was a hole *a foot deep* made by his head in the gravel walk."

Some attributed his despair to debts;[4] others to a breach with his political friends; while others again maintained

[1] See Suite XVII., *post.*

[2] Jesse's *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, vol. iii., p. 375.

[3] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. ix., p. 420, Nov. 7th, 1793. To the Misses Berry: "He threw himself from one of the uppermost windows, an immense height."

[4] *Correspondence and Diary of John Wilson Croker*, where it is stated, vol. i., p. 245, that "he was in great distress." Croker adds that "his apartments were the same as Lord George Seymour now has"—undoubtedly a mistake.

that it was entirely an accident: "It had frequently been his delight to sit and read on a parapet-wall, or kind of platform before his window, in one of the upper apartments of the Palace; he much delighted in the situation, which was constantly filled with flower-pots." [1]

The platform or ledge in question, which is over the top of the capitals of the pillars of the South Front, does, in fact, jut out sufficiently to hold a chair, and perilous though it be, some of those who have lived in the same apartments after Tickell, have been so reckless as to risk their lives in the same way.

"About twelve at noon, while his carriage was waiting to convey himself and his family to town for the winter, Mrs. Tickell left the room for a moment, and on her return, not finding him there, she ran into an adjoining chamber, which commanded a view of the garden beneath, where she beheld her husband lying on the ground; but before she reached the fatal spot he had expired. By what unhappy cause, or by what means he fell, never can be known to a certainty."

The identical window cannot be pointed out; but the above account indicates that it was one of the three middle windows in the top square-window storey of the South Front, overlooking the Private Gardens. He was buried, on November 11th, in the churchyard at Hampton, where his monument may be seen in the church.[2]

Another distinguished inhabitant of Hampton Court Palace, during the reign of George III., was William V., Prince of Orange, whose mother was Anne, daughter of George II., and who, having to fly from his dominions in 1795, on the invasion of Holland by the French Revolutionary troops, took refuge in England, where he and his family were

[1] Mrs. Le Fanu's *Life of Mr. F. Sheridan.*

[2] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 89.

received with every kindness, respect, and sympathy by George III. and the rest of the royal family, and by the public in general.[1]

The King at once assigned him apartments at Hampton Court, whence, very soon after his arrival, on the 28th May, 1795, he issued a protest against the decree of the States-General abolishing the Stadtholdership.[2] The exact extent of the apartments in the Palace, occupied by him and his family, cannot be precisely ascertained; but we know that they embraced the suite recently occupied by the late Hon. Lady Hill, in the range on the east side of the Clock Court, with several adjacent rooms, including such of the State Rooms, in the ranges north and south of the new Palace, as abut on the Fountain Court. The Queen's Guard and Presence Chambers were their reception rooms.[3] Several of the occupants of private apartments had to vacate their rooms to accommodate the Stadtholder and his suite, but they were readmitted to them when he left the Palace. One of his household, Baron Nagel, occupied the apartments on the first floor in the north-east angle of the Palace, now Mrs. Rowley Lambert's,[4] some of the windows of which are seen in the accompanying engraving. The door, shown in the same view, is that into the little garden called "Lady Mornington's," which lady, as we shall see later, was given apartments in the Palace in the same year as the Stadtholder.

The Stadtholder and his family continued to reside at Hampton Court until 1802, when they returned to the Continent, after the Treaty of Amiens.

Of his residence at Hampton Court, scarcely any tradi-

[1] Wraxall's *Memoirs of his Own Times.*

[2] *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxx., p. 311.

[3] Brewer's *Beauties of England*, vol. x., part v., p. 456, ed. 1816.

[4] Suite XLIV.

tionary reminiscences survive, although, but a few years ago, there were one or two persons about Hampton Court, who remembered having seen him and his attendants. Nor do we find recorded in the annals of the time any notable incidents connected with his stay in England. There is a caricature of him, however, by Gillray, dated April 1st, 1797,

North-east Angle of the old Palace.
(From a plate in Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, anno 1800.)

representing him as he used to perambulate with his secretary, Count Nasselin,—the Prince himself, who was very heavy and corpulent, being usually in a state of somnolence in his walk. It is, perhaps, also, to his wife and her ladies-in-waiting, that the walk under the elms and chestnuts against the Tilt Yard wall, owes its curious name of the "Frog

Walk," which, it is supposed, was the favourite promenade of the Dutch *Fraus* or *Frows* of her Highness's household.

At any rate, the life of himself and of his family, during the eight years they spent at Hampton Court, must have been dull and uneventful in the extreme—enlivened by nothing more exciting than an occasional visit from George III., who, whether at Windsor or at Kew, was within an easy drive of the Palace.

In relation to one of these visits a story is told, which may be inserted here, as it relates to this period, and as it is almost the only recorded instance, we can find, of George III. ever being at Hampton Court after his accession.[1]

It appears that Hampton Court Bridge, to which we referred in Chapter XIX., was at this time rented by a man named Feltham, who, to prevent any vehicle or horseman passing without paying the toll, kept the gate shut. "One morning the Royal Hunt came across Hounslow Heath to the bridge, where the stag had taken water and swum across. The hounds passed the gate without ceremony, followed by a large party, crying, 'The King!' Feltham opened his gate, which he closed again after they had rushed through without paying; when a more numerous and showy party came up, vociferating more loudly, 'The King!' He stood with the gate in his hand, though menaced with horsewhips. 'I'll tell you what,' said he; 'hang me if I open my gate again until I see your money. I pay £400 a year for this bridge, and I laid out £1,000 upon it. I've let King George through, God bless him! I know of no other king in England. If you have brought the King of France, hang me if I let him through without the blunt!'"

At this moment, however, the King himself appeared;

[1] W. J. Thoms, *Book of the Court*, p. 43.

and Feltham recognizing him, made his bow, and let his Majesty through; and the whole company went over to Molesey Hurst, where the hounds were at fault. The King, annoyed at the spoiling of the sport, sent back to inquire the reason of the interruption, and after having it explained to him, and learning that a guinea had always been paid when the Royal Hunt passed over this bridge, directed that a handsome reward should be given to Feltham. Soon after, King George having occasion to cross the bridge again, after visiting the Stadtholder at the Palace, pulled down the carriage window, and laughing heartily, said to old Feltham, "No fear of the King of France coming to-day."

Besides the Stadtholder, Hampton Court is stated—though we cannot discover any authority for the assertion—to have sheltered another royal refugee, namely, Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who, being deposed by his rebellious subjects, came to England, in 1810, and occupied for a time a suite of apartments in the Palace.[1]

In the meanwhile, during the whole of George III.'s reign, Hampton Court continued to be a show place, to which excursions were frequently made by those interested in archæology or the fine arts; and the increased interest taken in the Palace and its contents about this time, is evidenced by the ample descriptions given of them in such works as Brewer's "Beauties of England," Lysons' "Middlesex Parishes," and Pyne's "History of Royal Residences," which were published about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which we have frequently had occasion to cite in the course of these pages. Foreigners, also, travelling in England, were, as usual, enthusiastic in their praise of Hampton Court: witness among others, "le citoyen Chantreau," as he designated himself, who visited the Palace in 1788, and who declared, among many other

[1] Walford's *Greater London*, vol. i., p. 157.

commendations, that "il n'est pas possible de trouver une demeure plus delicieusement situé;"[1] also Dr. Silliman, an American gentleman, whose excursion to Hampton Court was made in the month of August, 1805,[2] and who was equally delighted with all he saw, especially with the majestic avenues of ancient trees, and the deer, in herds, gliding through the openings.

An excursion to Hampton Court was even made the subject of a poem by a certain F. Streeter, whose feeble effusion, which was a sort of poor imitation of the "Rape of the Lock," was published at Rochester in 1778. Later on, in 1817, there was issued, at Kingston-on-Thames, the first guide-book to Hampton Court—"containing a descriptive Account of the Paintings, Statues, etc., in the Palace and Gardens"—in which it was remarked that "no place near the metropolis has for years been more the resort of fashionables than Hampton Court."

Even George III. seems to have been stirred to taking some interest in the Palace, for, in 1798, he granted permission to James Wyatt, Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, to clear the Great Hall of the stage, which since the theatricals in the time of George II., in honour of the Duke of Lorraine, had been suffered to cumber this splendid room, and mar its noble proportions. At the same time, such repairs and renovations as were necessary, were made in its structure, and especially in the ornaments of the roof.[3] The King also directed the return to Hampton Court, in 1808, of Raphael's cartoons, which, as we stated, had been removed at the beginning of his reign.

Nevertheless, the Palace was, at this time, extremely ill-kept; suffering indeed, not merely from neglect, but also from the reckless defacements of its ancient structure by

[1] *Voyages en Angleterre*, vol. iii., p. 265.

[2] Do., vol. ii., pp. 115, 116, &c.

[3] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 67.

additions and excrescences, to afford various domestic offices, such as pantries, sculleries, and larders, for the inhabitants. It is only quite recently that many of these disfigurements have been removed.

At this period visitors were shown, according to Hannah More, "an ordinary room, full of the original furniture of the Cardinal, chiefly curious for its antiquity, consisting only of cane tables, chairs, etc."[1] But the authenticity of these relics we very much doubt, for they are not mentioned in any of the old elaborate inventories of Henry VIII.'s and Charles I.'s goods, nor in any other account of the Palace; and there is now no trace or tradition of anything of the sort. It is recorded, however, that at the beginning of the century, one of the Cardinal's shoes was still to be seen in the Palace; but as the upper leather had been renewed at one time, and the sole at another, its claim to reverence was of a somewhat impalpable kind. Many relics, reputed to belong to historic persons, can scarcely boast even such a shadowy claim to genuineness as that.

We may mention here that the Pavilions, after the death of the Duchess of Gloucester in 1807, were given to the Duke of Kent, father of the Queen; and he occasionally resided here till his own death in 1820.

[1] Roberts' *Memoirs of Hannah More*, vol. i., p. 41.

CHAPTER XXII.

HAMPTON COURT DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

Accession of George IV.—Desolate Appearance of the State Rooms—Private Apartments still eagerly applied for—The Countess of Mornington—Her sons the Marquess Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington—"The Mother of the Gracchi"—"Purr" Corner—The Duke of Clarence at Bushey House—The "Toy Club"—Its jovial Dinners—Marrow Pudding, Songs, and Whist—Distinguished Members of the old "Toy Club"—The Sailor Prince's strong naval Vernacular—Balls and Parties—The Sheridans—Mrs. Norton—Practical Jokes of Frank and Charlie Sheridan—The late Lady Dufferin—The present Lord Dufferin at Hampton Court when a Boy—Scott, Moore, Rogers, and Wordsworth visit Hampton Court—The Royal Stud—George IV. as a Breeder of Horses—William IV. and his Stud Groom—His Stud sold and dispersed—The Royal Stud revived by Queen Victoria—Sale of Her Majesty's Yearlings—Enormous Prices given—Statues removed by George IV. to Windsor—Cost of Maintenance of the Palace and Gardens.

GEORGE IV.'s accession to the throne on the 29th of January, 1820, caused little, if any, change in the fortunes of Hampton Court; and of its history at this period we have not much to record, beyond some reminiscences and anecdotes, handed down by tradition, or culled here and there from memoirs and letters of the time. As to the Palace itself, it presented, as far as the State Rooms were concerned, a most desolate and deserted appearance. "These princely halls," remarks a visitor in 1823, "have

come to be almost as silent as their dead master's tomb. They have nothing to echo back but the hurried footstep of a single domestic, who passes through them daily, to wipe away the dust of their untrodden floors, only that it may collect there again; or the unintelligible jargon of a superannuated dependant, as he describes to a few straggling visitors (without looking at either) the objects of art that have been deposited in them, like treasures in a tomb." [1]

An air of stately desolateness attached also to the surroundings of the Palace; the same writer observing that about them there was an appearance which he knew not "how to describe otherwise than by calling it *courtly*. . . . The great wide, yet unfrequented road, worn only in the middle, and grown with grass at the sides—the great walls that line the wide pathways on either hand, and the great stately elms, that stand out, here and there, almost in the middle of the road, as you see them nowhere else—all give an imposing appearance, that I do not remember to have seen elsewhere."

In the meanwhile, however, the private apartments continued to be as much sought after as ever; and whenever a vacancy occurred, there were always several eager applicants for the coveted privilege of free quarters in his Majesty's Palace. The changes which took place among the inhabitants at this period, as the earlier nominees of George III. died off, and were replaced by those of George IV., need not here be alluded to, further than by again referring our readers to the list in Appendix G, where the names of all the successive occupants of each apartment are given, with the dates of their warrants, and brief notes of their lives.

One illustrious inhabitant of the Palace, however, requires more particular mention in this place, namely, the Countess

[1] *Penny Magazine*, vol. x., p. 378.

of Mornington, mother of those two great brothers, the Marquess Wellesley, the brilliant and sagacious statesman who consolidated the British Empire in India, and the Duke of Wellington, who saved the liberties of Europe, and conquered Napoleon.

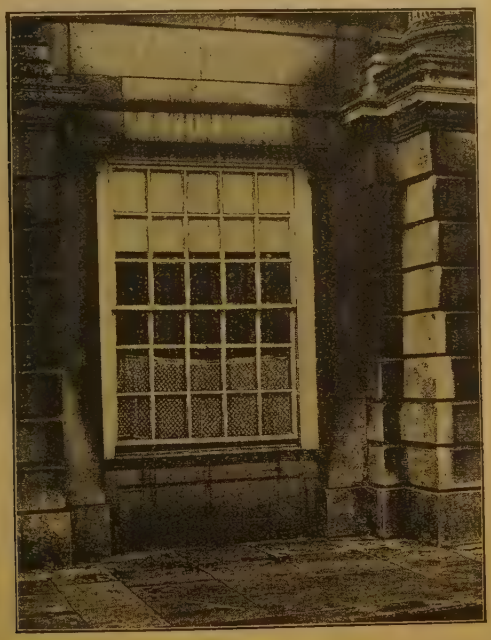
The apartments occupied by Lady Mornington, who, her warrant being dated 1795, had, at this time, been residing at Hampton Court for about thirty years, and whose daughter, Lady Anne FitzRoy, afterwards Culling-Smith, and son, the Hon. and Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, Chaplain of the Palace, also had apartments,[1] were those on the ground floor in the north-east angle of William III.'s palace, formerly occupied, in the reign of George II., by the Prince of Wales, and now by the Dowager Countess of Desart (Suite XXV.). Here Lady Mornington was often visited by her two famous sons; and here several persons still living remember seeing them together—"the mother of the Gracchi and her sons"—as she proudly liked to call herself.

Adjoining her apartments is a little enclosed garden—still known as "Lady Mornington's Garden"—where she loved to sit, and where she planted a catalpa tree, ever since cherished in memory of her, though it is, unfortunately, now reduced to little more than a bare stump.

A slight reminiscence of the Duke of Wellington, also, still lingers at Hampton Court, for it was he who gave the name of "Purr Corner" to the nook in the east front of the Palace, on the right-hand side of the gate as you come out from the cloister into the garden. There was, in former days, a seat in this spot, which, being warm and sheltered, was the favourite one with the more elderly ladies in the Palace; and here they used to sit basking in the sun, and talking and gossipping—whence the Iron Duke's reference to the feline murmur that pervaded this corner.

[1] See Appendix G, Suites XXVII. and XLIV.

Turning now to the social life of the Palace at this time, we find that its chief centre was the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., who had been appointed Ranger of Bushey Park in 1797, on the death of Lady Guildford



"Purr" Corner.

(formerly North), and who, during the reign of George IV., resided almost entirely at Bushey House, leading the life of a country gentleman, and superintending a farm, which he had formed in the Park. Being of an easy and genial temper, he became a great favourite with his neighbours,

whom he entertained with much hospitality, and in the amusements of whom, whether balls, dinners, races, cricket matches or pugilistic contests on Molesey Hurst, he always took a keen interest. He was, also, President of the "Toy Club," a society which held its meetings in that famous hostelry the "Toy," whence it took its name. The memory of the club still lingers about Hampton Court, though its local habitation—which stood, as we have before mentioned, by the side of the Trophy Gates, at the west entrance to the Palace—vanished upwards of forty years ago.

The "Toy Club" included almost all the gentlemen in the Palace, on the Green, and in the neighbourhood, and it met once a month, when the members dined together with much conviviality—the Duke of Clarence's joviality and kindliness making everyone feel at their ease, and imparting to the evening's entertainment a freedom, and an absence of restraint, not usual in the presence of royalty. As to the dinners, though good, they do not appear to have been extravagantly choice, if we are to judge from the fact that a marrow pudding was always served for the special delectation of his Royal Highness. It is said that when he afterwards became king, he used to declare that the dinners at the "Toy Club" were the most enjoyable he had ever been present at.[1]

After dinner, the remainder of the evening was devoted to whist, to chaff and banter, the telling of good stories, and the singing of jovial seafaring, drinking, and other songs. One of these, which sings the praises of the "Toy" in not very vigorous verse, has been preserved, and we give the following stanza as a specimen :—

> With some *Toy* or other all mortals are pleased,
> Their fancies delighted, their troubles appeased ;

[1] Mrs. Houston's *Memories of World-known Men*, vol. i., p. 35.

The globe through all quarters they search for their sport,
But no prettier they'll find than at sweet Hampton Court.

Amongst the members of the "Toy Club," whose names have been transmitted to us, were: Mr. James Campbell, who lived in the large house on the Green; Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry, Wheatley, who, also, lived on the Green, in Sir Christopher Wren's house, and was the father of Colonel Wheatley, the present Bailiff of the Royal Parks; Mr., afterwards Sir James, Reynett, who lived in Suite VII. in the Palace; the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker—the famous Secretary of the Admiralty, and editor of the "Quarterly Review,"—who lived at Molesey; Mr. Edward Jesse, Surveyor of the Royal Parks and Palaces, who lived for many years in or near Hampton Court, and whose duties comprised the care and overlooking of the Palace, Parks, and Gardens, and of whose association with Hampton Court, in this capacity, we shall have something to say further on; Lord George Seymour, another resident in the Palace (Suite XLII.); his son, the late Sir Hamilton Seymour, formerly Ambassador at the Court of Vienna; his nephew, Admiral, afterwards Sir George Seymour, one of the handsomest, as well as bravest of England's naval heroes, who had apartments in the Palace (Suite IV.), and who was father of the late, and grandfather of the present Marquess of Hertford; and, finally, Sir George's brother, Colonel, afterwards Sir Horace Seymour, M.P., who, also, had apartments in the Palace (Suite II.), who was father of the present Lord Alcester, and of whom we shall have more to say presently.

Besides these, there were many other members, especially several of the Duke's old naval friends; among whom the individual, so we are assured, whose conversation the Duke of Clarence appeared to delight in most, "was a certain

rough, but jolly old merchant captain, before whose after-dinner euphemisms, those employed by the bo'sun, whom Captain Marryat has immortalized, would have paled their ineffectual fires."[1] Rollicking humour and unrestrained mirth were, in fact, just the qualities that the Sailor Prince delighted in most, and a sort of strong, downright, naval vernacular was the language he most appreciated in others, and chiefly affected himself. Of this we have an instance in the following anecdote :—

One day he was riding in Bushey Park with Mr. Jesse and his daughter, Mrs. Houston, when a lady, verging on threescore and ten, the widow of a former shipmate of his, met them, dressed in the most juvenile of costumes, and riding with a youthful parson whom she was about to marry. "By ——!" exclaimed his Royal Highness, "to think of ——'s wife making herself such a d—d old scarecrow as that! I promised her some time ago that I would use my interest to get her a set of rooms in the quality poor-house [the designation by which Hampton Court Palace was usually playfully alluded to]; but, upon my soul, I think that rooms in Bedlam would be more to the purpose."[2]

In addition to the meetings of the "Toy Club," the old "Toy" inn, both at this time and subsequently, was often the scene of other festivities, especially of balls, which were among the smartest anywhere within the environs of London. The late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn remembered often being present at them as a young man. There were likewise dinners, parties, and balls, at Bushey House, and occasionally, also, at the Stud House in the Home Park, where several persons, still living in Hampton Court Palace, remember to have met the famous Mrs. Norton, then resplendent in the zenith of her beauty and charms.

[1] Mrs. Houston's *A Woman's Memories of World-known Men*, vol. i., p. 36, and *Sylvanus Urban*. [2] Do., vol. i., p. 41.

Her mother, Mrs. Tom Sheridan, daughter-in-law of the great Sheridan, had been given apartments in 1820—those recently occupied by the late Lady Ward (Suite XXXVI.)—and here she was living at this time with her two other daughters, whom we shall mention again presently.

Prominent in all entertainments in and near Hampton Court, and doubtless, especially, at the meetings of the "Toy Club," were Mrs. Norton's two brilliant brothers, Frank and Charlie Sheridan, whose youth was passed in the Palace, and of whom tradition still preserves a faint, though fast-fading memory. Suffice it to say here, that at Hampton Court they fully maintained their reputation for those boyish high spirits, which rendered them the spoilt darlings of society, and those rollicking practical jokes, which, usually having an element of humour, were relished by all except the victims of them, and in spite of which they remained great favourites in the Palace, the irresistible charm of their winning manners always gaining over, in the end, even the most implacable of dowagers.

Besides Mrs. Sheridan's two sons and her daughter, Mrs. Norton, who married in 1827, there were with her at Hampton Court at this time, as we have said, her two other daughters, equally famous and equally beautiful—the eldest, Helen Selina, who married, in 1825, Lord Dufferin; and the youngest, Jane Georgiana, who, marrying on June 10th, 1830, Lord Seymour, afterwards became Duchess of Somerset, and was the Queen of Beauty at the famous Eglington tournament in 1839. Lady Dufferin, as every-one knows, became the mother of the present Lord Dufferin and Ava, who, doubtless, inherited many of his captivating and splendid qualities from his mother's family, and the career of whom has been, perhaps, the most brilliant and honourable of any Englishman of this century. He also, as a little boy, was much at Hampton Court with his

mother; and writing from India a few years ago, in the midst of the Burmah campaign, to a dear and lifelong friend, whom he first met at Hampton Court, he says of the old Palace: "I cannot tell you what an affection I have for that place, and what tender memories it brings back to my recollection."

In the meanwhile, the popularity of Hampton Court as a place of excursion from London continued to grow, and it was every day more and more admired and appreciated by persons of education from all parts of the kingdom. Thus, Miss Mitford, in one of her letters, dated July 5th, 1820, observes: "What a beautiful place! What a real palace! How can anybody leave Hampton Court and live in the Pavilion?"[1] And, on April 20th, 1828, Scott records in his Diary: "We went to Walter's quarters [his son, who was quartered at the Palace] in a body, and saw Hampton Court, with which I was more struck than when I saw it for the first time about 1806. The pictures are not very excellent, but they are curious, which is as interesting to connoisseurs." About a month after this, Scott, and his daughter Sophia, visited Hampton Court again, carrying with them, as he expresses it, "the following lions and lionesses—Samuel Rogers, Tom Moore, Wordsworth, with wife and daughter."[2] This party is also referred to, in Moore's journal, May 25th, 1828, as follows: "On our arrival at Hampton [Court] (where we found the Wordsworths) walked about, the whole party in the gay walk, where the band plays, to the infinite delight of the Hampton [Court] blues, who were all *eyes* after Scott, the other scribblers not coming in for a glance."[3]

Before passing on from George IV., we must mention that it was in his reign that the Royal Stud at Hampton Court—the paddocks of which lie behind the brick walls on either

[1] *Life and Letters of Mary Russell Mitford*, vol. ii., p. 102.

[2] Scott's *Journal*, vol. ii., p. 189.

[3] Moore's *Journal*, vol. v., p. 287.

side of the road separating Bushey Park from the House or Home Park—was very much increased and improved. A stud already existed here in the time of William III. and of Queen Anne,[1] who ran horses in her own name, and whose husband, Prince George of Denmark, seems to have taken some interest in the breeding of horses; and the stud was also maintained in a state of more or less efficiency during the reigns of the first three Georges.[2] But it was George IV., who must be considered the real founder of the famous Hampton Court Stud as it at present exists. When Prince of Wales, he used frequently to visit the royal paddocks, and he spent, so we are told,[3] "many gay hours at the Stud-house," and, in 1812, established a stud here to breed riding-horses of pure blood—all of which, as far as practicable, he intended to be grey. For this purpose the stud was maintained until his accession to the throne in 1820, when he sent the whole lot to the hammer at Tattersall's. The paddocks and stables then passed into the hands of the Duke of York, who kept a stud of his own here for breeding racehorses, with Moses, the Derby winner of 1822, as the leading sire. On the Duke's death in January, 1827, his whole stock was also disposed of by auction at Tattersall's.

George IV. hereupon resumed possession of the Hampton Court paddocks, this time for the breeding of his own racehorses, and he devoted considerable sums to raising the Royal Stud to the highest state of efficiency, and to improving the stabling and paddocks. These, we may observe, are now forty-three in number, seventeen in the Home Park and twenty-six in Bushey Park, varying in size

[1] *Ante*, p. 172.
[2] *Treasury Papers*, vols. cclii., No. 29, March, 1725; cclxix., No. 18, March 16th, 1728.
[3] *The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court*, anno 1825.

from three to five acres each. Of brood mares George IV. had as many as thirty-three; and, as to stallions, a particular regard has always been paid in the Hampton Court Stud to what is termed "stout blood." For example, there were in his stables, towards the end of his reign, Waterloo, out of a Trumpeter mare; Tranby, out of an Orville; Ranter, out of a Benningbrough; and the Colonel, out of a Delpini mare.

When William IV. became king, he was anxious, although he knew nothing at all about horses, to keep up and still further improve the Royal Stud; and the above stock were by him supplemented with the following celebrated English stallions—exclusive of four Arabians, two from the King of Oude, and two from the Imaum of Muscat, as presents to the King—Actæon, by Scud out of Diana, by Stamford, purchased of Viscount Kelburne for a thousand guineas; Cain, by Paulowitz, dam of Pagnator; and Rubini, by St. Patrick out of Slight, by Selim: the two latter hired for the use of the stud.[1]

William IV., however, did not interest himself personally in any of the details of the management of the stud, leaving all that entirely in the hands of Colonel Wemyss and his stud-groom; while, as to selecting what horses were to run in any races, when, in June, 1830, just after his accession, Edwards, his trainer, inquired what were to go to Goodwood, the Sailor King replied, "Take the whole fleet; some of them will win, I suppose." The three horses belonging to his Majesty, which were engaged in the Goodwood Cup, were, accordingly, despatched to the scene of action, and finished as follows: Fleur-de-lys, 1; Zinganee, 2; and the Colonel, 3; for the Goodwood Cup, August 11th, 1830, there being six other starters.[2]

On the death of William IV. in 1837, the entire stud of

[1] *The Turf*, by Nimrod, ed. 1834, p. 77.

[2] Day's *The Horse, and how to rear him*, p. 48.

forty-three brood mares, five stallions, and thirty-one foals, was sold under the hammer for 15,692 guineas. This proceeding caused the greatest indignation in sporting circles, the dispersal of this noble appanage of royalty being especially resented, on account of the opportunity it afforded the dreaded foreigner, of making several valuable purchases of thoroughbred stock. M. Lupin, for instance, now "the father of the French turf," secured, among other lots, the famous mare Fleur-de-lys.[1]

The paddocks were next lent to General, then Colonel, Peel, and Mr. Charles Greville, to occupy them with their breeding studs. General Peel enjoyed this privilege until he gave up and sold all his stock off, except the stallion Orlando, who was winner of the Derby of 1844, through the disqualification of the four-year-old Running Rein; and whose daughter, Imperieuse, by the bye, was bred here, and beat the famous Blink Bonny for the One Thousand Guineas and St. Leger; while his son, Diophantus, won the Two Thousand. In the meantime, Mr. Greville remained in possession, conjointly, after 1851, with her Majesty the Queen, who in that year, on the advice of the Prince Consort, consented to the formation of the nucleus of the present stud. Her Majesty's first managers were Major Groves and Mr. Lewis, assisted by Mr. William Goodwin, as veterinary surgeon.

As to the profits on the Royal Stud at Hampton Court, they have always been considerable. In the days of George IV. and William IV. the yearlings, which were sold at Tattersall's on the Monday in Epsom race week, generally realized an average of from £150 to £200 apiece.[2]

Since the Hampton Court Stud was re-established by the Queen, the prices have—except for a short period of depression some years ago—steadily tended to rise, and of

[1] Christie Whyte's *History of the British Turf*, vol. ii., p. 288.

[2] See a list of prices in the June number of the *New Sporting Magazine* in 1836.

late years, especially, there has been a most marked increase in the average attained. The paddocks are at present under the supervision of Colonel Sir George Maude, K.C.B., Crown Equerry, whose skilful management and care have brought the Royal Stud to the very highest pitch of excellence and success. Mr. Mackrell is stud groom.

The sale of the Queen's yearlings now takes place on the Saturday in the week after Ascot race week, in one of the paddocks in Bushey Park, where a large number of gentlemen interested in horse-breeding, and most of the celebrities of the racing world, assemble in front of Mr. Tattersall's rostrum to bid for her Majesty's stock. The high quality of the animals, and the keen competition for them, usually render the auction a most interesting and animated scene.

The yearlings most admired are generally Springfield's (the famous winner of the Champion Stakes at Newmarket,[1] &c., in 1877), or Hampton's (the winner of the Goodwood Cup and Doncaster Cup in 1877); a bay colt, for instance, by Hampton out of Land's End, fetching, in the sale of 1889, 3,000 guineas. On that occasion, twenty-eight yearlings brought as much as 11,745 guineas, being an average of 420 guineas apiece. But the climax was reached last year, 1890, on the 28th of June, when twelve fillies and eight colts were sold for a little over 14,000 guineas, an average of no less than 700 guineas each!

The facts that Sainfoin (by Springfield out of Sanda), the winner of the Derby of 1890, had been bred in the Hampton Court Stud, and had been sold in the paddocks, two years before, for 550 guineas to Mr. John Porter, the Kingsclere trainer, and that Memoir, the winner of the Oaks, had likewise been a Hampton Court yearling, lent a special interest to this year's sale, which was greatly enhanced by the additional circumstance that a very promising sister to Memoir was to

[1] See *Racing and Steeple-Chasing* (Badminton Library), p. 394.

be sold, and that it was known she would be keenly competed for, by several wealthy owners.

This daughter of St. Simon out of Quiver—a beautiful brown filly, considerably finer than her sister at the same age—was in effect knocked down, after a sharp contest between the Duke of Portland, Lord Marcus Beresford, Colonel North, and Mr. Douglas Baird, to Lord Marcus for Baron Hirsch at 5,500 guineas, the largest price ever given for a yearling, and exactly 4,000 guineas more than the Duke of Portland gave for her sister two years before. This immense sum, of course, had a considerable effect on the aggregate; but there were one or two other big prices: Lord Randolph Churchill securing a bay colt by Springfield out of Lady Binks for 1,750 guineas; the Duke of Westminster giving 1,350 guineas for a bay filly by Hampton out of Gallantry, and Baron Hirsch 1,000 guineas for a sister of Sainfoin, more remarkable, however, for her relation to the Derby winner than for her own looks. Altogether the sale was a most pronounced success, and is sufficient justification, if any were needed, for the existence of the royal breeding establishment.

In the Hampton Court paddocks also—that is to say, in the seventeen in the House Park—are kept most of the horses required for the Queen's state carriages and household, as well as those presented to her Majesty by Eastern potentates, most of which horses are Arabs, and many of them very beautiful animals. Here, also, are bred the Queen's famous cream-coloured horses, which excite so much popular interest whenever they appear on state occasions, to draw the Queen's coach, and whose last appearance was on the occasion of her Majesty's Jubilee. They are descended from the horses brought over by George I. from Hanover, of which country they are a special product, and they may be considered as the last surviving representatives of the

old Flemish horses, once so much admired. The breed has always been kept pure and untainted to this day. They are rather slow and majestic in their action; but are powerful animals, and some of them are as much as eighteen hands high. Some of them are upwards of twenty years old. Mr. Target is the stud groom.

View showing the South and East Fronts of the New Palace.

Reverting once more to the reign of George IV., we must record that it was by him that the beautiful vases and statues, which formerly decorated the gardens of Hampton Court, and to which we made reference in an earlier page, were removed from the pedestals they had occupied since the days of William III., to Windsor Castle. Among them were also four statues—Flora, Ceres, Diana, and Pomona—that originally stood on the piers at the top of the south

front of the Palace,[1] on the parapet in the line with the columns beneath. These ornaments were so characteristic of the style of the new Palace and gardens, that their displacement is a matter of regret, and we venture to express a hope that they may eventually be returned to the place, for which they were originally made.

In the meanwhile, however, the Palace and gardens were very fairly maintained: the average sum expended, during the ten years of George IV.'s reign, on the Palace—including, of course, all such charges as salaries, wages, lighting, draining, watching, cleaning, water, &c.—being £5,100 a year; and on the gardens—including the cost of keeping up the water-course called the Longford river[2]—£2,880 a year.

In the last year of the reign of George IV. the use of the Great Hall was granted by his Majesty to the inhabitants of Hampton for divine service, while their parish church was being rebuilt, until September, 1831, when the new church was consecrated in the presence of Queen Adelaide.

[1] Brewer's *Beauties of England* (Middlesex), vol. x., part iv.; and *The Hampton Court Guide*, 1819.

[2] See vol. ii., p. 124.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HAMPTON COURT DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.

Accession of the Duke of Clarence as William IV.—More Pictures sent to the Palace—Terms of Admission to the State Apartments—The Old Clock removed—The St. James's Palace Clock sent to Hampton Court—A new Clock-Face—Welcome to Queen Adelaide—The King dines with his old Friends—The Banqueting House preserved and made a Private Residence—William IV. confers the Guelphic Order on old Members of the "Toy Club"—The handsome and gallant Seymours—Sir Horace Seymour and the Fainting Beauties—Queen Adelaide at Bushey House—The Duc de Nemours.

THE accession of the Duke of Clarence as King William IV., on the 20th of June, 1830, opened a somewhat new prospect for Hampton Court; for his Majesty, having resided so long within the precincts of the manor, took a good deal of interest in the Palace; and it was he, who seems first to have conceived the idea of making it a sort of receptacle or museum, for the many curious pictures which had hitherto been stored away, out of sight, in the other royal palaces. With this object, he sent from Kensington, St. James's, Windsor Castle, Buckingham House, and Carlton House, hundreds of canvases—many of them little better than rubbish—to swell the contents of Hampton Court, and to accommodate which several extra State Rooms

were added to those already open to the inspection of sight-seers. His Majesty also gave orders that the King's Great Staircase, which was in a dilapidated condition, should be restored and repainted. The work was entrusted to Mr. Fairs, and was executed in the autumn of 1836, at a cost of £400. It had not previously been repaired for upwards of fifty years.[1]

Admission to the Palace, however, was still under the same conditions—that is, a fee of a shilling or so was exacted from each visitor, and parties were conducted, or rather "driven," to use the expression of a disgusted connoisseur, through the State Apartments by the deputy-housekeeper or one of her housemaids, who pointed out the pictures with a long stick, calling out, in a loud voice, at the same time, the names of the subjects and their painters to the awe stricken company—a procedure that allowed of little opportunity for studying or enjoying them.

A work of William IV.'s at Hampton Court, which we must not omit to mention, was the removing, in 1835, of the old clock, originally erected, as we saw in our first volume,[2] by Henry VIII.; but subsequently repaired and altered at various times, especially in 1711, by Mr. Lang Bradley, of Fenchurch Street, who, finding that the original pricked wheel and pinion had been removed, probably by some ignorant workman, made good this defect and otherwise altered and improved the works.[3] The original internal mechanism, indeed, of the clock, having been designed before the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo, must have been of a very defective nature; and even after the improvements effected in it by Bradley, it would appear, from the numbers of the toothing of the wheels, as given by Dr.

[1] *Letter-Books of the Lord Chamberlain and the Board of Works.*

[2] Pp. 217-220.

[3] Derham's *Artificial Clockmaker* ed. 1734, p. 121.

Derham, that it can never have performed its functions accurately.[1]

Latterly, indeed, the old astronomical clock (although it had, subsequently to Derham's time, again been altered), ceased to go altogether—at any rate, as far as the astronomical dial was concerned, though it seems that there was formerly, as now, a clock face, looking west, into the First Court, the hands of which, no doubt, were driven by the old works, defective as they were.[2]

At any rate, William IV., who, we may suspect, had often, in old days, experienced inconvenience from the inaccurate time-keeping of the old clock, gave order that it should be removed and replaced by one formerly at St. James's Palace.

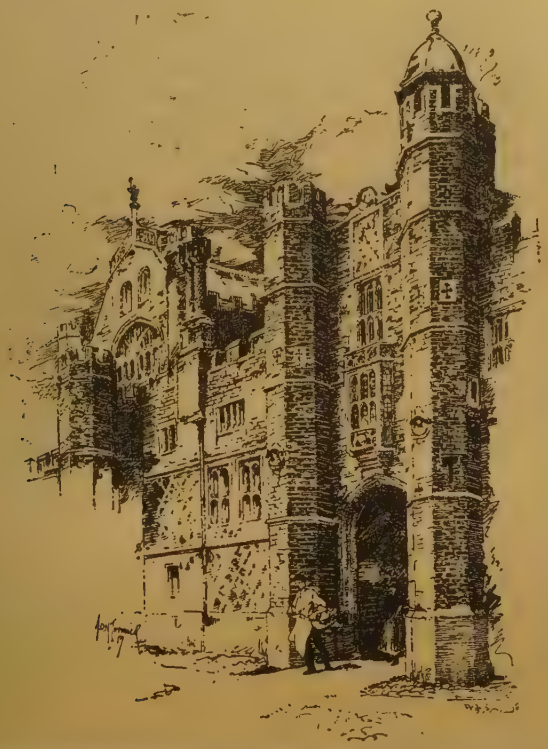
The works of the old clock, had they been preserved, would have been an interesting curiosity; but unfortunately they were carried off by Messrs. Vulliamy, under the vicious system, which formerly gave all old work as a perquisite to those who replaced it by new—a system doubly injurious, both as leading to the substitution of new work, almost invariably inferior to the old, and also as affording an additional motive to workmen and tradesmen, to recommend as absolutely necessary total restoration, in cases where partial repairs would suffice, and thus greatly increasing the cost of maintenance of old buildings.

When the St. James's clock was in its turn removed, in 1880, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, the following inscription was found upon it: "This clock, originally made for the Queen's Palace in St. James's, and for many years in use there, was, A.D. 1835, by command of His Majesty King William IV., altered and adapted to suit

[1] E. J. Wood's *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches.*

[2] See Ree's *Encyclopædia,* article "Clocks," which gives an excellent account of the condition of the Hampton Court clock in 1802.

Hampton Court Palace, by B. L. Vulliamy, Clock-maker to the King;" and on another plate on the clock: "Vulliamy, London, No. 352, A.D. 1799."



The West Side, facing the First Court, of the Clock Tower.

The motive power, however, of the St. James's clock, was evidently found not sufficient to drive the astronomical dial, as well as the hands of the clock face on the other side of the tower; and accordingly the old dial, with the

mechanism and wheels attached to it, was taken down some years after, to be stowed away in a workshop as useless, the space it had occupied being filled by black painted boards.

The new clock face fixed, in 1835, on the west side of the clock tower, facing the First Court, is 5 ft. 8 in. in diameter, and above the square clock front, in which it is placed, is a small circular space, 3 feet in diameter, covered with a slab of slate, on which is cut the monogram of William IV. This space would seem, from the form of the brickwork behind, to have been formerly filled by a small clock dial, probably until the St. James's clock was put up.

In the meanwhile, however, Hampton Court saw little of its new sovereign, and there is scarcely anything to record in its annals during his reign. Tradition, however, preserves a recollection of a visit by Queen Adelaide, soon after her husband's accession, when a triumphal arch was erected in the road near the "Frog Walk," and she was received with every mark of respect and affection, by the loyal inhabitants, whose neighbour she had formerly been, and whose hearts she had won by her simplicity and kindliness of heart.

But though William IV. does not appear to have made any state visit to Hampton Court after his accession, he showed that he still remembered his old friends there, by often coming and dining with them familiarly in their apartments or private houses, as of yore; and also by adding the names of several of them to the warrants already held by their relatives: for instance, he inserted Sir George Seymour's name in his wife's warrant. We should record here, also, that it was in his reign, that the interesting old Banqueting House, which was built by William III. in the Pond Garden,[1] but which had been, for many years, entirely unused and uncared for, was repaired

[1] *Ante*, p. 128.

and restored, and converted into a private residence. Its preservation from neglect and decay came about in this way. One day William IV. chanced to be walking about the gardens of Hampton Court, with his friend Sir James Reynett, when they passed by the Banqueting House, and the King observed that it was getting so dilapidated he thought he should have it pulled down. Fortunately, however, Sir James Reynett ventured to remonstrate: "Don't do that, Sir, I pray you. If you will allow me to occupy it, I will undertake to put it in repair and take care of it." To this his Majesty assented; and the house, with its beautiful carved oak panelling and painted ceiling, was soon put in order, and turned into a charming little summer residence, in which Sir James lived until his death in 1864.

William IV. further marked his regard for his old Hampton Court friends by conferring the honour of the Guelphic Order—a sort of private order of knighthood of the Sovereign as King of Hanover, independent of his English ministers—on three members of the "Toy Club," that is to say, Sir Henry Wheatley, Sir Horace Seymour, and Sir George Seymour. Apart, however, from the friendship and regard of their sovereign, the personal merits and distinguished services of the two gallant Seymours—one of whom, Sir Horace, was a Waterloo hero, in which battle he had picked out of their saddles, by sheer force of arm and length of sword, six or seven French cuirassiers, one after another; and the other, Sir George, had been wounded in battle by a splinter, when gallantly boarding one of the enemy's ships off St. Domingo, and carried the mark in his jaw to the day of his death—would have more than entitled them to the distinction they received at the hands of the Sailor King. Sir George, in fact, was eventually promoted to be Admiral of the Fleet, and was decorated with the Grand Cross of

the Bath by her present Majesty, after serving his sovereign and country in every part of the world.

In addition to their professional deserts, both these officers were, indeed, the very *beau idéals* of high-bred English gentlemen—of innate courtesy of manners, of striking good looks, of commanding presence, of undaunted courage, of spotless reputation, of lofty principle, and of scrupulous honour—no wonder that the name of Seymour—though the long connection of the family with the Palace was finally severed in 1878, on the death of Lady Seymour, the widow of Sir George—is still remembered and revered at Hampton Court.

In relation to Sir Horace Seymour, an anecdote is told which, being referable to about this time, may be related here, though we cannot exactly vouch for the accuracy of all the details. The story occurs in the Memoirs of the Rev. Julian Young, son of the famous actor, who was, on Oct. 31st, 1830, appointed sub-chaplain of the Palace, his chief being the Hon. and Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley,[1] brother of the Duke of Wellington, then non-resident.

One very hot Sunday in the summer of 1831, a young lady, Miss B——y, not a resident in the Palace, but living in the vicinity, fainted in chapel during the service. Considerable commotion arising among those near her, Sir Horace Seymour, then a widower, who was seated in the gentlemen's pew, "walked across the chapel, raised the prostrate fair one in his arms, carried her to his apartments, deposited her on a sofa, left her to the charge of his housekeeper, and straightway returned to his seat. Strange to say, on the two following Sundays, a young lady, each time a different one, fainted; and on each occasion, as if by prescriptive right, the same gallant knight performed the same kind office for the sufferers, and then returned to his post."

[1] See *ante*, p. 328, and Suite XLIV.

On the last of these three fainting Sundays, Lady George Seymour, wife of Lord George, who was uncle of Sir Horace, went to the chaplain in the vestry after service and said, "I say, Mr. Young, this fashion of fainting will degenerate into an epidemic if it is not put a stop to. With your permission I will affix, before next Sunday, this notice in the cloister, at the door of entrance :

NOTICE!

Whereas a tendency to faint is becoming a prevalent infirmity among young ladies frequenting this chapel, notice is hereby given, that, for the future, ladies so affected will no longer be carried out by Sir Horace Seymour, but by Branscombe the dustman."

This warning produced the desired effect, and the plague of fainting beauties was stayed.

After the death of William IV., his widow, Queen Adelaide, was granted Bushey House as a residence; and here she led a quiet and unselfish life till her death in 1849, dispensing in public and private charities in the neighbourhood and elsewhere, no less a sum than £30,000 a year. In 1844, she gave, in a summer-house in the pheasantry, a *déjeûner* to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the King and Queen of the French, the King and Queen of Belgium, the King of Holland, and many other royalties.[1]

Bushey House is now lent by the Queen to the Duc de Nemours.

[1] Keene's *Beauties of Middlesex.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—HAMPTON COURT OPENED FREE TO THE PUBLIC.

Accession of Queen Victoria—The Palace thrown open to the Public without Charge—Gloomy Prognostications of the Result—Success of the Move—Popular Appreciation of the Boon—Shocking Murder in the Palace of a Sergeant by a Private—The Inhabitants of the Palace and the Poor's Rates—The Exemption challenged—The Private Apartments assessed—Appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench—Conditions and Obligations of Tenure of Apartments—Periodical Surveys and Inspections, and Orders to repair—Are they "occupied" by the Sovereign?—The Inhabitants held liable to Assessment—Arrangement for the Payment of the Rates—Immunity from Arrest within the Palace—Colonel Rose and the Bailiffs.

WITH the accession of her present most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria to the throne, there opened a new, and, up to the present time, the final era in the history of Hampton Court; for one of the first acts of her reign was to order that the Palace should be thrown open to all her subjects without restriction, and without fee or gratuity of any kind.

The carrying out of this act of queenly beneficence was facilitated by the death, in April, 1838, of Lady Emily Montague, the Lady Housekeeper; when, that office being abolished, it was no longer necessary to exact fees from visitors to the Palace, in order to augment the lady's salary.

Accordingly, an order was issued, on August 15th, 1838, that the State Apartments should be closed, until arrangements could be made for the new dispensation; and after the lapse of a few months, they were re-opened, in November, 1838; since which date they have never been closed to the public,—except, of course, in times of national mourning,—and every facility has been afforded, ever since, for seeing and enjoying Hampton Court, and its treasures.

So great a change, we can well understand, was not carried out without the gloomiest forebodings on the part of many, as to the disastrous results, which they alleged would infallibly ensue. Indeed, there were not wanting those, who declared that if the general public were admitted without some restriction, neither the Palace nor its contents would any longer be safe. Visions of an insulting rabble, such as that which invaded the Tuileries in the time of Louis XVI., marching through the State Apartments, tearing down the tapestries, wrecking the furniture, and carrying off the pictures, seemed to arise in the terrified imaginations of some; while there were others who, though taking a calmer view of the situation, yet affirmed that it would be impossible to safeguard the contents of the Palace from mischievous injury and depredation, without an army of warders and guardians. How completely these prognostications have been falsified we shall notice further on.

Doubtless, also, to the inhabitants of the Palace, who valued the seclusion and quiet of Hampton Court, and who appreciated the immunity they had hitherto enjoyed from the more objectionable accompaniments, inseparable from crowds of noisy excursionists and trippers, the change was not altogether welcome.

It was very soon seen, however, that what Hampton Court lost in repose and dignity, it gained in cheerfulness; and that what was sacrificed by its popularization, was com-

pensated for by the greater interest taken in the Palace, and the care devoted to it. It was equally evident, also, that the boon conferred on her Majesty's subjects was thoroughly appreciated in every way, and in nothing more than the freedom with which anyone might wander at will, unmarshalled by the Housekeeper's rapacious housemaids, through the series of interesting rooms, and inspect at leisure their varied contents.

Before passing on from the year 1838, we must briefly

General View of Hampton Court, as seen from the River Thames.

record that the Palace was, on Thursday, the 21st of June, the scene of a very shocking occurrence, the murder of Sergeant Hamilton of the 12th Lancers, then quartered at Hampton Court, by John Rickey, a private in the same regiment. Rickey, it seems, had been to Hampton races, where he had been drinking hard, and when ordered under arrest, about seven o'clock in the evening, seized a pair of loaded pistols, rushed out from the barracks, and stationed himself defiantly at the gate of the First Court. From there, when pursued by Hamilton and another sergeant, he "went

in the direction of Sir Horace Seymour's apartments;" and stood in an angle of the passage; where, after threatening to fire at anyone who came near him, he discharged both pistols at his pursuers. The bullet of one entered the body of Sergeant Hamilton, who died within a few days.

Rickey was tried at the Old Bailey on the 11th of July,[1] found guilty of murder, and condemned to death; but some extenuating circumstances being found, he was afterwards reprieved, and his sentence commuted.

Soon after the unrestricted opening of Hampton Court to the public, namely, in 1841, a question arose as to the liability of the inhabitants of private apartments, by grace and favour of the Crown, to contribute to the rates in relief of the poor of Hampton, in which parish the Palace is situated. Formerly, as long as Hampton Court was a royal residence in the actual occupation of the Sovereign, there could have been no doubt that entire immunity from rateability was conferred on all those who dwelt within its precincts; though in October, 1694, the sixth year of the reign of William and Mary, their Majesties had been pleased, in consideration of the fact that the parishioners of Hampton felt themselves "peculiarly aggrieved by the increased charges on the parish funds, arising from the relief of the poor persons who followed the court, and by workmen then engaged in the alterations making at the Palace," to grant to the said parish an annual bounty or pension of £50, payable out of the receipts of the Exchequer, by writ of Privy Seal.

This, however, was a mere royal gratuity, varying in its amount from time to time by reason of the land tax and other taxes attaching on it; and for some years immediately following the time of the grant, it was received by the Under-housekeeper of the Palace, and distributed by him at his discretion. Latterly, however, for many years previous

[1] *Times*, June 23rd and July 12th, 1838.

to the accession of Queen Victoria, it had been received by the churchwardens of Hampton, and applied by them in aid of the funds created and established by, and with other charitable donations given generally by, the donors to the use of the poor of the said parish. In the meanwhile, the exemption from contribution to the poor's rates, which undoubtedly formerly attached to residence in the Palace, continued unquestioned and unchallenged long after it had ceased to be actually occupied by the sovereign and court.

But in 1841, as we have said, the parochial authorities of Hampton ventured to raise the question in an acute form, by making an assessment on the inhabitants of the private apartments, which, being appealed against by them, was confirmed by Quarter Sessions. Thereupon, a special case was stated, on appeal, for the opinion of the Court of Queen's Bench, and came on for hearing on Saturday, April 23rd, 1842, before the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Denman.[1] As the case —The Queen *v.* Lady Emily Ponsonby and others—stated for the opinion of the Court, sets out, authoritatively, all the circumstances of the tenure of apartments by private individuals in the Palace; explains the conditions on which they were, and are still, held; and gives the obligations imposed upon their occupants; some of its paragraphs may be conveniently cited here, especially in so far as they are applicable to the state of things at the present time.

"The Palace contains a suite of rooms called the State Apartments, all of which contain a collection of pictures, the property of the Crown, to which the public, under certain regulations, are permitted to have access; a room called the Board of Green Cloth [the Great Watching Chamber], and a gallery [the Haunted Gallery], which the public are not permitted to enter, and which is used as a depository for lumber. For sixty years the State Apartments have not been used

[1] *The Queen* v. *Lady Emily Ponsonby and others*, 3 Q. B. 14.

for any other purpose, and they are not included in the present assessment."

"A guard of honour is always on duty at the Palace, and Divine Service is regularly performed therein by a chaplain appointed and paid by the Crown. The Palace, as well as the Gardens which surround it, are maintained and kept in order by the Crown; and the produce of the Gardens (which gardens are not assessed) is applied to her Majesty's use. Sentinels are posted at the various entrances; and those entrances are opened and closed at the pleasure of the Crown."

"The housekeeper of the Palace, who is the only officer of the royal establishment resident in the Palace, formerly employed servants to show the pictures, and received a fee or gratuity for such a view, as a perquisite of office. Upon the decease of Lady Emily Montague, the late housekeeper, the State Apartments were thrown open for the gratuitous admission and view of the public, under the superintendence of persons in the dress of police constables [now the undress livery of the royal domestics], but appointed and paid by the Crown."

"There are several other apartments in the Palace, which are in the occupation of private individuals. Some consist of spacious drawing-rooms, dining-rooms, bed-rooms, servants' rooms, kitchen, and other domestic offices, suitable for the residence and accommodation of persons with considerable household establishments; and are now, and always have been, occupied by persons of rank and distinction; and others are occupied by persons of respectable station."

"One of the parties included in the rate appealed against is a Mr. Grundy, the husband of the housekeeper of the Palace, appointed and paid by the Crown; who, as such housekeeper, and for the proper performance of her duty, resides (with her husband and children) in the part of the

Palace set apart for her use, and in respect of which her husband is rated."

"With this exception, and that of some other persons similarly situated, the several suites of apartments occupied by private individuals are not enjoyed by them as appurtenant, or annexed to any office under the Crown, but are occupied by virtue of a written grant or warrant, made by the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's household." Here followed a copy of the form of warrant as given in Appendix G.

"In some cases the names of two or more individuals (members of the same family) have been included in one warrant. The occupiers of these suites of apartments provide at their own expense every kind of household furniture and fixtures requisite for the furnishing and fitting up of such apartments. Previously to occupiers taking possession of the apartments, such repairs as may be considered by the officers of the Crown, as necessary to be done to such apartments, are done at the expense of the Crown; but, in some instances, where the repairs desired for the accommodation of such occupiers have been of such a nature as to require a considerable outlay, such repairs have been effected at the joint expense of the Crown and the occupier. But all alterations or additional works required by the occupiers are done at their own expense, and in some instances such additional works and alterations have amounted to £1,000 and upwards."

"Afterwards the occupiers themselves are bound, at their own expense, to do whatever internal works, alterations, and repairs, may be found necessary for keeping up and preserving the apartments in a proper and tenantable condition, or which they may consider essential to their greater convenience and enjoyment; but no works, alterations, and repairs, are done except under the direction of the officers of

her Majesty's Office of Woods and Forests [now the Office of Works], and the Government contracting tradesmen are employed and paid by the occupiers of the apartments."

"A periodical survey is made of the apartments every second year by the officers of the Crown; and a report made of the repairs necessary for placing them respectively in tenantable repair; and notices are given by the Crown, to the occupiers to have such repairs done, which are done by them accordingly."

The case then set out the form of notice of an intended inspection, as formerly served on the occupants, signed by three Commissioners of the Office of Woods and Forests, which notice was as follows :—

Office of Woods, &c., 20th March, 1841.

In pursuance of the Queen's commands signified to the Chief Commissioner of Her Majesty's Woods, &c., an inspection of the several apartments at Hampton Court Palace, had by grace and favour of Her Majesty, will take place in the ensuing summer, and in the summer of every ensuing second year, of which due notice will be given to each of the several occupiers, who, after such survey and inspection, will be required to execute whatever internal works and repairs may be found necessary for keeping up and preserving the apartments in a proper and tenantable condition.

(Signed) DUNCANNON, A. MILNE, CHARLES GORE.

The case further set out a notice from one of the Commissioners, stating what repairs were required, and requesting that directions might be given for performing them, which notice was in the following form :—

Her Majesty's Office of Woods, &c., September, 1841.

Referring to the notice of the 20th of March last, addressed to you by this Board, I beg to inform you that a survey has been made of the present state of the interior of the apartments you occupy, by the grace and favour of the Sovereign, in Hampton Court Palace, and the repairs, &c. (according to the statement on the

other side), are reported as necessary for placing your apartments in tenantable repair.

I am, on behalf of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, &c., to request that you will, at your earliest convenience, give directions for executing the works enumerated, which must be done under the direction of the officers of this Board.

I am,
Your most humble,
(Signed) A. MILNE.

The periodical surveys and inspections of the private apartments, and the notices to repair consequent thereon, have now, for some years, been dispensed with, but are made and given, in each instance, as circumstances may require.

In the arguments on the case,[1] it was urged in support of the assessment, that the Sovereign's exemption from rateability being a personal privilege, and the Palace not being in the actual occupation of the Sovereign, no privilege of exemption attached to the building and its inhabitants, unless they were residing in it for purposes of service to the Crown; that, on the contrary, the inhabitants had, in fact, a "beneficial occupation," stress being laid especially on their being permitted to join their families in the occupation. On the other hand, in opposition to the rate, it was urged that the inhabitants had technically neither "tenancy" nor "occupation;" that the real "occupier" was the Queen, who was present by one of her domestics, her housekeeper; that the appellants only had a permission by the occupier to retain possession of the apartments, which was neither, in right nor fact, exclusive; and that they were no more rateable than a visitor to a gentleman's house.

The Court, however, held clearly that the occupation *was* beneficial; and that the inhabitants were consequently liable to the rate. The peculiar circumstances, however, of the

[1] 3 Q. B., p. 21.

Palace would have rendered periodical assessments of the apartments highly inconvenient both to the officials of Her Majesty's household and to the parochial authorities of Hampton. An arrangement, which still subsists, was accordingly entered into, for the permanent and definite annual payment to the guardians of the poor of Hampton, without any expense to the parish, of a lump sum, amounting to no less than £500, in respect of all the apartments in Hampton Court Palace, towards which the occupants have to contribute rateably, in proportion to the size of their apartments, some being rated as low as £7 and others as high as £15 per annum.

But though the inhabitants were thus deprived of one of their most important privileges, there still remained to them another—that of inviolability from civil process, as long as they remained within the precincts of the Palace—which, while not of such general application as the exemption from poor's rates, might still be of no small consequence to some of them, in the good old days of imprisonment for debt. For if an insolvent debtor could only find a refuge in the Palace, he might, in virtue of the right of sanctuary appertaining to it as a royal residence, revel, as long as he did not rove beyond its walls, in a happy impregnability from the harassing incursions of bailiffs and such like objectionable myrmidons of the law, instead of passing his time in the hopeless gloom and misery of the debtors' prison.

Of this right of asylum, advantage was taken by Colonel Rose, brother of Lord Strathnairn, who had married a daughter of Mrs. Vesey, a lady with apartments in the Palace (see Suite XIV.), and who, being unfortunately much in debt, and having writs of execution out against him, could not venture outside the Palace, without exposing himself to the risk of arrest. For a long time, accordingly, he used to take his exercise on the top of the Palace, pacing up and

down the vast lead flats of the roof, from which secure and lofty position he looked down on his baffled pursuers. Once, however, having imprudently come down into the Barrack Yard, the bailiffs, who were on the watch, pounced on him in an instant, and proceeded straightway to march him off triumphantly to the debtors' prison. But the insolvent colonel, though captured, was not yet at the end of his resources; for, managing to divert their attention for a moment, he suddenly escaped from their grasp, vaulted over the railings into the Towing Path, rushed to the river-side, plunged in, and swam—in the midst of a shower of stones from the exasperated bailiffs thus baulked of their prey—across to the Surrey side of the Thames, where, in a different county, his person was inviolable from the writs issued in Middlesex.

CHAPTER XXV.

QUEEN VICTORIA—HAMPTON COURT AS A POPULAR RESORT.

Popularity of Hampton Court as a Holiday Resort—Enormous Increase in the Number of Visitors—Averages for the last Fifty Years—Sunday the Favourite Day—Exasperation of the "Unco' Guid"—Sabbatarian Protests—Clerical Assertions—Sunday at Hampton Court "a Hell upon Earth"—The Charges denied—Orderly Behaviour of the Masses—Unsubstantiated Arguments—Four Millions of Sabbath Breakers—The Continental Sunday in full Swing—Gaiety of the Scene on a Summer Sunday Afternoon—Restorations to the Exterior and Interior of the Palace—Mr. Edward Jesse, Surveyor of the Royal Parks and Gardens—His happy Knack in framing Rules and Regulations—Reverence for the Old—A felicitous Phrase—Occasional Turbulence of the Sightseers—Practical Joke by Theodore Hook—Hoaxing a Party of Cockneys—Various Celebrities at Hampton Court—Lady Wellesley given Apartments—Professor Faraday given a Crown House on the Green—Bazaar in the Great Hall—Removal of Raphael's Cartoons and Tijou's Iron Screens—A Fenian Scare.

AFTER the throwing open of Hampton Court to the public, it came almost at once into the greatest popular favour as a holiday resort; and the visitors, who hitherto had been numbered by scores or hundreds, rose immediately to tens, nay to hundreds, of thousands; and they continued to increase, during the first four years after the free opening of the Palace, from 115,971 in 1839 to 122,339 in 1840; and from 147,740 in 1841 to 179,743 in 1842.

After attaining that figure, the numbers fluctuated for some eight years between a maximum of 180,000 and a minimum of 150,000—a period, by the bye, before the opening of the branch of the South Western Railway to Hampton Court in 1849, which, strange to say, however—although, of course, the train thereafter brought the bulk of the excursionists—had but little effect in increasing their number, perhaps because of the many new places of amusement and attraction started in the neighbourhood of London about that time.

The average, in fact, for the two decades between 1850 and 1870 was about 220,000; except in the Exhibition years, which showed an abnormal increase, 350,848 persons having been reckoned as passing through the State Rooms in 1851, and 369,162 in 1862.

During the last twenty years the average number of visitors has been about the same, the lowest total being 165,000 in 1884, and the highest 236,000 in 1882. The numbers were 220,000 in 1886; 204,000 in 1887; 215,000 in 1888; 226,000 in 1889; and 239,000 in 1890.

The most popular period of the year has, of course, always been the summer, and the most popular months July and August; for instance, in 1842, the visitors numbered in May 24,000; in June 29,000; in July 50,000; in August 24,000; and in September 14,000; while the average for each of the three months, November, December, and January, scarcely exceeded 1,000 a month. The same proportions still hold good at the present time.[1]

As to the day of the week on which Hampton Court is most visited, it is interesting to note that Sunday was, is

[1] Returns of visitors issued by the Office of Woods. See *Times*, 21st Aug., 1846, 5 a; 10th July, 1849, 8 d; 21st Aug., 1851, 5 b; 22nd June, 1854, 7 f; 30th July, 1856, 9 e; 2nd Sept., 1857, 9 e; and figures supplied to the author by the Office of H. M. Works.

now, and always has been, the most popular of all—the visitors on that day usually amounting to half the total for all the other days in the week put together, and occasionally attaining as large a figure as 5,000 on a single Sunday.[1]

How it came to pass that the Palace was ever allowed to be opened to the public on Sundays at all, at a time when all other places of innocent recreation and amusement were, in deference to an austere Sabbatarianism, strictly closed, is not a little curious. It appears that this unwonted exception to the dismal severity, which has distinguished the national observance of the day of rest, since the time of the Puritans, was the result, as far as the authorities were concerned, of an accident, and occurred in this way. In the old days of the lady housekeeper, her deputies and her housemaids, the days and times of the opening and shutting of the Palace were matters entirely within her own province; and as a rigid and narrow interpretation of the Sabbatical precept would have involved a most serious diminution in the fees, charged by her for admission into the State Rooms, and the perquisites of her office, it is not surprising that her ladyship should have succeeded in reconciling her conscience, and those of her satellites, to a little lucrative Sabbath-breaking between them. Thus it was that the system of admitting visitors to Hampton Court on Sundays, was already in quiet operation, when, on the death of Lady Emily Montague, arrangements were made for the free opening of the Palace to the public. The authorities in London, however, seem not to have been aware of the fact, or, at any rate, to have overlooked it—perhaps with that wise official eye that knows when *not* to see—and accordingly orders were merely given that the State Rooms were to be opened, as formerly, on all the days of the week, except on Fridays, when they were to be closed, as they still

[1] *Times*, 2nd Sept., 1846, 5 f; and 2nd Sept., 1857, 9 e, &c., *ubi supra.*

are, for cleaning. In this way was Hampton Court the first, and for a long time the only, place of recreation open to the public on Sunday.

Needless, however, to say that no sooner did this liberal and enlightened proceeding become known to the "unco' guid," than the terrible nature of the innovation thus brought about, burst upon them with a terrific shock, and at once set a train to the whole artillery of Puritan invective. "Desecration" and "profanation" were among the milder terms, hurled at the heads of the placid officials at Whitehall and St. James's, whose carelessness had permitted, or whose insidious wickedness had planned, this awful outrage on that fine old institution, "the British Sabbath." The protests of the Sabbatarians could not, indeed, have been more frantic had a visit to Hampton Court on Sunday been, not optional, but compulsory. With that bitter intolerance, and selfish disregard for the freedom of others, which always stamps your true fanatics, these self-appointed censors of public manners were exasperated, beyond measure, that other people should be permitted to amuse themselves in a fashion, of which *they*—the salt of the earth—did not approve; and they, accordingly, vociferously clamoured for the retracing of so fatal a step on the downward path towards the abysmal depths of "the continental Sunday"—the Sunday, not only of a hundred and fifty million benighted papists, but also of some sixty million sober-minded Protestants in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; to say nothing of an inconsiderable eighty million or so members of the Greek Church. Altogether it was an opportunity, not to be missed, by those exquisite individuals, who love to step forth in their favourite self-gratulatory character of "superior persons," to lecture "the worldly" on their duties.

One of these pragmatical busybodies, adopting the strange

and presumptuous expedient of addressing a personal letter to the Queen,[1] implored her Majesty, "as one, who long loved and honoured your Majesty's pious grandfather, who was a king blessed of the King of kings," to interpose her authority and prevent the profanation of her Royal Palace. Another, a clergyman, the Rev. D. Wilson, although he had no personal experience in the matter whatever, boldly adopted the language of a friend of his, and denounced Hampton Court on Sunday as "*a hell upon earth;* the people come intoxicated, and the scenes in these gardens on the Lord's day are beyond description."[2]

This reverend gentleman's sweeping, second-hand imputations against the behaviour of some 80,000 Sunday visitors a year, were emphatically denied at the time by several correspondents of the "Times," among others by Dr. Sellé, organist of her Majesty's Chapel at Hampton Court, who, having attended at the Palace officially every Sunday for seven years, had ample opportunity of judging of the conduct of the excursionists, and who declared that "the conduct of the masses is orderly, quiet and respectable, nor do I ever remember seeing a drunken character."[3] This testimony was confirmed by a German, a frequent visitor to the Palace on Sundays, who asserted that he had never seen, "either in the gardens or in the gallery any badly-behaved person;" and that he was "often struck with the good and quiet behaviour of the multitude."

The superior champions, however, of the morose and sour observance of the British Sabbath, were not likely to defer to the tainted testimony of a "Godless foreigner." On the contrary, the Rev. D. Wilson, when challenged to give his authority for his statements, and to specify dates and circumstances, like too many clerical disputants, merely

[1] British Museum, 1355 k. [2] *Times*, 2nd Nov., 1852, 3 e.
[3] *Times*, 5th Nov., 1852, 8 f.

evaded the issue, reiterated his assertions, and took refuge in vague generalities.

The sole argument, in fact, of the Sabbatarians, apart from sentiment and the misrepresentations of prejudice, was, that through the opening of the Palace on Sundays, the warders in the State Rooms were denied one day's rest in the seven, to spend in the bosom of their families. When it was pointed out to these objectors, that the warders were given a full day on Friday in every week, they shifted their ground, and bewailed the fate of the unhappy men who were, by this scheme, deprived of the opportunity of attending divine service on the Sabbath. Shown that this was not the case, the Palace not being opened on Sundays until two o'clock, and the men, therefore, having the whole morning at their own disposal, and ample opportunity of going to church if they chose, they could only fall back on the demoralizing spectacle, of which these unfortunate servants of the Crown were compelled to be the reluctant witnesses.

Fortunately for the four millions of Sabbath-breakers, who have, during the last half-century, braved the thunders of the "Lord's Day Rest Association," and sought a true day of rest, after the strain of their hard weekday labour, and the close confinement of unhealthy London offices and workshops, in the fresh and invigorating air of Hampton Court, no heed was paid, by those in authority, to the vapourings of the sanctimonious smugs, who would have robbed the people of their holiday; so that the Palace remains open to the public to this day, on every Sunday throughout the year.

As to the general conduct of the excursionists on that day, as well as all the other days of the week, the author can tender his emphatic testimony, after a continuous experience of some twenty years, that it is entirely unexceptionable. True, the visitors do not walk about on the Sabbath day with an air of

prim self-satisfaction; true, they are not all dressed in long shiny black coats, and tall greasy chimney-pot hats; on the contrary, the Sunday sightseers arrive full of high spirits, intent on enjoying themselves; and they have even been known—*horribile dictu!*—to smile, to laugh, to sing, to run, and do many other things, calculated to draw down on them the severest censure from our rigid precisians.

But to those, whose eyes are not jaundiced by the blight of Puritanism, there could be no more cheering sight than the happy crowds of young men and women, who, throwing aside their weekday cares, come down to Hampton Court on Sunday, to enjoy themselves in an unconventional and unrestrained fashion; wandering through the State Apartments; gazing at the Palace and the pictures; treading the velvet turf and scenting the flowers, in the gardens; strolling in the lime walks; roaming beneath the broad-boughed avenues, or picnicking among the ferns, in Bushey Park; rollicking in the maze; or rowing on the river.

Indeed, to anyone, who would like to know what "a free Sunday" means, we would commend a visit to Hampton Court some afternoon of that day, in the height of the summer. He will then witness—what is to be seen in no other place in Great Britain—the much-dreaded "Continental Sunday" in full swing, within twelve miles of Charing Cross. Arriving by the crowded train, and standing for a moment on the centre of the bridge, a bright and animated scene meets the eye. On all sides are to be seen hundreds of omnibuses, vans, char-à-bancs, brakes, cabs, dog-carts, and carriages and conveyances of all sorts, including several coaches; all of which have brought their parties for the palace, the gardens, the parks, and the river. On the river, above all, the scene is of the gayest: it is often so crowded with rowing boats, steam launches, sailing boats with various coloured sails, and house-boats decked with drapery and flowers, that one would

imagine a regatta was going on. Through Molesey Lock also, just above the bridge, ceaseless streams, literally of hundreds of pleasure boats, each with their merry party of holiday makers, pass all day long; while upon the banks stroll throngs of young people, not perked out in "Sunday-go-to-meeting best," but men rationally dressed in easy shooting suits or flannels, and girls in neat and pretty lawn-tennis or boating costumes. In the meanwhile, perhaps, down the stream, from the lawn of a riverside club, opposite William III.'s Terrace or Long Walk, there is a "sound of music on the waters," in the lively strains of the last new valse; while a crowd of boats gathers around, and on the ear "drops the light drip of the suspended oar."

To exchange a scene like this, with all its freshness, naturalness, and "abandon," for the hot London streets and parks on Sunday, with their conventional dressed-up crowds, strutting, prayer-book prominently in hand, along the pavements, or crawling in dense masses by Rotten Row, enables us to judge how heavy is the load of formalism that still weighs upon English life.

Reverting now to the period immediately subsequent to the opening of Hampton Court free to the public, we should notice that the Palace henceforth was much better cared for, and that many excellent restorations were carried out, both on the exterior and in the interior of the building. The hideous sash windows, for instance, that had so long disfigured many parts of the old Tudor west front, were replaced by Gothic mullioned, casemented, and latticed windows; the ornamental stone carvings were restored; and chimney-shafts, of finely moulded brick, substituted for the shapeless and graceless masses of yellow brick of the Georgian era.

The restoration of the interior of the Great Hall was also undertaken: the walls, so long bare, being rehung with old tapestry; the east and west windows being filled, in 1843,

and the side windows in 1847, with appropriate stained glass by Willement; and the roof re-decorated. It was objected at the time that these restorations—and especially the painting of the roof—were altogether too brilliant and gorgeous; but as we noticed in our first volume,[1] though it looks somewhat too fresh and raw for an old building, little more was done than follow the indications of the original colouring, which was always excessively rich in Henry VIII.'s palaces, and which time is continually softening. The same remark applies to the restoration of the roof of the chapel, which was undertaken in 1847, and cost about £2,200.

The gardens, also, were henceforward much better cared for, and the trees, so long allowed to grow in tangled masses, and to be overrun with ivy, were more sedulously tended.

All these matters were carefully supervised by Mr. Edward Jesse, Surveyor of the Royal Parks and Palaces, whom we have already noticed in an earlier page, and to whose memory a word of acknowledgment is due, for the useful work he did at Hampton Court at this time, both in regard to everything of historic interest in the Palace, and in promoting its enjoyment by her Majesty's subjects. Mr Jesse had a happy knack, in all the regulations he laid down, of combining that freedom from vexatious restraint, so essential to the public enjoyment of a popular resort, with the respect and dignity, which should invest a Royal Palace, and the reverence, with which a great historic building should be treated.

Nothing that could have detracted from, or impaired, the old-fashioned charm of the Palace and gardens, or which might have given it a cockney, suburban, tea-garden air, was tolerated; on the contrary, everything was done to

[1] P. 168.

preserve and maintain its Tudor, Stuart, Orange and Guelph associations—with immense advantage to the interest of the place, and with a much enhanced value to its educational influence over the millions, who have visited it, and who, though uncultured, are far from being entirely proof against the magic spell of a romantic and mysterious past.

In all the arrangements Mr. Jesse made, he gave the cue and tone, and originated the precedents, which have since been usually followed. It was one of his ideas, for instance, inspired by his deep love of old trees, to treasure up the remains of the ancient trunks, and make them serve as receptacles or vases, as it were, for ferns and trailing plants, in a way that excited the admiration of M. Taine, who, when describing his visit to Hampton Court, cites it as an instance of the English love and respect for what is old.[1]

Mr. Jesse was, also, the inventor of the felicitous phrase, which has ever since been inscribed on the notice-boards in the gardens of Hampton Court: "The Public is expected to protect what is intended for the public enjoyment"—a sentiment which equally won the commendation of the great French critic, and which, while much facilitating the protection of the flowers and plants from heedless mischief-makers, has had no small influence in educating the popular conscience to that adequate appreciation of Hampton Court and its attractions, now almost invariably evinced by all, except the very lowest class of excursionists.

That in the earlier years of the Queen's reign, however, the disposition of the general public, in this regard, left something to be desired, is evident from the fact that at the time of which we are now treating, Mr. Jesse was put into

[1] *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, p. 30: "Les vieux arbres sont étançonnés avec des tiges de fer; quand ils meurent, pour ne pas les perdre tout entiers, on fait avec le reste de leur troncs, des sortes de urnes. Visiblement on les respecte et on les aime."

the Commission of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, in order, as the "Times" stated, in its obituary notice of him, "to control the visitors, who came to see Hampton Court Palace, and were in the habit of committing depredations in the gardens thereunto belonging."[1] His daughter further informs us that on every Monday and Tuesday, during the height of the season at Hampton Court, his time was fully occupied with "cases for hearing," which were especially numerous and urgent on those days, when the crowds visiting the Palace were greatest, and when "they used to take Bushey Park, together with the neighbouring Palace and gardens, almost literally by storm." She goes on to describe a rowdy demeanour on the part of the holiday-makers, which, without saying that it is absolutely unknown in the present day—especially on Bank Holidays—is at any rate exceedingly rare, and which, when contrasted with their present behaviour, enables us to gauge how great has been the improvement in the manners of the populace.

At this point we may relate, as connected with the excursionists to Hampton Court in the earlier years of her Majesty's reign, an anecdote told of Theodore Hook, which is thoroughly characteristic of that celebrated wit and humorist.[2] It was a broiling day in mid July: the scene, the Chestnut Avenue in Bushey Park, where Mr. Jesse and his daughter were riding under the shelter of the trees, when they met, near the Teddington gate, two gentlemen, one Mr. C——, an inhabitant of the Palace, and the other Theodore Hook, both very hot, tired, and exhausted, walking towards Hampton Court. While they were longing for some conveyance to carry them back to the Palace, Hook suddenly caught sight of a group of cockney sight-

[1] Mrs. Houston's *Sylvanus Redivivus*, p. 283.

[2] *A Woman's Memories of World-known Men*, vol. i., p. 152.

seers, who having, as he remarked, "emptied their nose-bags," were preparing to return to Hampton Court. The humorist carefully watched them, until the two parties approached close to each other, when, without giving any notice to his friends of what he was about to do, he suddenly staggered wildly, caught hold of Mr. C——'s arm, and fell to the ground. "Of course there was a rush to help him—'a poor gentleman had fallen down in a fit'—and the good-natured cockneys set themselves to devising means for the transport along the avenue of the afflicted man. In order to effect this object, no scheme save that of borrowing a *door* from the gatekeeper's lodge, seemed practicable, and that plan was therefore adopted. The apparently lifeless body of the supposed apoplectic sufferer was carefully laid upon the board, whence occasionally a stertorous sound arose. Four not very powerful-looking young men then cheerfully took up the weighty burden, and bore it tenderly along beneath the chestnut-trees. An equal number of 'ladies,' with looks of awe and sympathy, followed immediately behind the 'body,' whilst the rest of the party, with solemn steps and slow, brought up the rear. Ever and anon the bearers stopped for breath and rest. . . . At length their wearisome pilgrimage came to an end. The iron gates leading to the Wilderness were reached, and, as the gardener in charge proceeded to open them, Hook slowly rolled himself off the improvised 'shutter,' and taking off his hat, thanked his bearers, and wished them a very good morning." As he disappeared within the gates, the excursionists gazed, at first, wonder-stricken after him; then they waxed angry at the trick which had been played them; but when they were told that the perpetrator of the hoax was no other than the famous Theodore Hook, their indignation was somewhat mollified.

Theodore Hook was only one of many celebrities, literary

and social, who about this time were frequently residing in the neighbourhood of Hampton Court, and often visiting the Palace and its inhabitants. There were, besides those mentioned in our foregoing chapter, James Smith, the author of "Rejected Addresses;" Mr. Murray—Byron's Murray, "the Prince of Publishers;" the Rev. J. Mitford, editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine," whose great delight it was to sit reading under the old yew-trees in the gardens; Sir Francis Chantrey, the great sculptor; Sir Thomas Lawrence, the painter; John Wilson Croker, whom we have already spoken of as a frequenter of the "Toy Club;" all of whom were friends and acquaintances of Mr. Jesse, himself an author of several delightful works on natural history, and who often met in his and other houses on the verge of the royal manor of Hampton Court.[1]

As to the inner social life within the Palace at this period, we have little or nothing to record; though we must not omit to mention that in February, 1843, the inhabitants received a notable addition in the Marchioness Wellesley,[2] widow of the Marquess Wellesley, who had died in September, 1842, at the age of eighty-two, and whose association with Hampton Court through his mother, Lady Mornington, we have adverted to in a previous chapter. Lady Wellesley's apartments consisted of Suite VI. in the West Front, where she resided much respected and beloved till her death in 1853.

Another recipient of the Queen's bounty at Hampton Court, not very long after this, was Professor Faraday, to whom, in 1858, her Majesty, at the thoughtful and kindly instance of the Prince Consort, offered the Crown house on the Green, which now bears his name (see Suite L.). Needless to say that Faraday had not solicited this favour; and he, at first, hesitated to accept it, fearing lest he had not the

[1] *A Woman's Memories, &c.*, vol. i., p. 160.
[2] *Times*, Feb. 17th, 1843.

means to do up the house properly. But when he was informed that all that was needful would be done at no cost to himself, he accepted her Majesty's gracious offer with deep and unfeigned gratitude, not only for the kindness itself, but for the delicate and considerate way in which it was tendered.[1]

Here, accordingly, two doors from the house formerly occupied by Sir Christopher Wren, this noble, illustrious man passed the evening of his life, still eager in the quest of scientific truth, yet enjoying the repose of the summer life in the country, and delighting above all "in the beauty of the sunsets from the Palace gardens." His death took place at Faraday House on August 27th, 1867.

Of other events in the annals of Hampton Court, up to the year 1867, we have scarcely anything to chronicle; though we may mention that in 1864 a bazaar, by special permission of the Queen, was held in the Great Hall, in aid of the distress in the cotton industry caused by the Civil War in America.

We may also, at this point, remind our readers, that it was in 1865 that Hampton Court was denuded, not only of Raphael's Cartoons, which, as we have said before, were removed to the South Kensington Museum;[2] but likewise of Tijou's magnificent screens of wrought iron, which were in that year, taken away to the same place.[3] Having already pointed out the very strong reasons why restitution should be made to William III.'s palace of its original decorations, we will not say more here, than again express a hope, that those reasons may before long prevail.

After this, during the Fenian outbreak in Ireland, there was an alarming "scare" at Hampton Court on Christmas Eve, 1867, information having reached the officials that

[1] Bence Jones' *Life of Faraday*, vol. ii., p. 398.
[2] *Ante*, p. 85. [3] *Ante*, p. 60.

an attempt was to be made to destroy the Palace with Greek fire, or some dangerous explosive. The watchmen were accordingly increased, "most of the gardeners were divided into parties, and patrols were appointed to keep under view the principal approaches of the Palace." Other men were stationed in the courts and passages, "and so a close watch was kept throughout the night, it being so arranged that patrols met at some point or other at very short intervals."[1] Nothing, however, happened; and in a day or two, life at Hampton Court resumed the even tenour of its way.

[1] *Times.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

QUEEN VICTORIA—RECENT EVENTS AND RESTORATIONS AT HAMPTON COURT.

Writ of *fi. fa.* executed in a Suite of Private Apartments—Special Case stated for the Court of Exchequer—Arguments for and against the Crown—The Privilege of Immunity held not to attach to the Palace—Appeal to the House of Lords—Remarks of the Judges—The Status of Hampton Court as a Royal Palace—The Decision affirmed—The new Drainage—Discovery of Skeletons in the Fountain Court—Freeing of the Bridge—Princess Frederica of Hanover given Apartments—Birth of her Daughter—Her Exertions in Furtherance of Charitable Institutions—Princess Frederica's Convalescent Home—Grand Entertainment in the Great Hall—Renewed Attention to the historic Interest of Hampton Court—Mr. A. B. Mitford appointed Secretary of the Board of Works—Mr. Lessels, Surveyor of the Board—Repairs, Improvements, and Restorations—The Astronomical Clock—New Works—Powerful and elaborate Machinery—The Old Knights Hospitallers' Bell—Curious antique Inscription—The Great Gate-House restored—Annual Estimates—Cost of Maintaining the Palace, Parks, and Gardens.

ENTERING now upon the last thirty years of the history of Hampton Court, the next occurrence of importance to be recorded, was a case, that arose on an information of intrusion, filed by the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Crown, against the Sheriffs of Middlesex and their officers, who had, on the 10th of February, 1865, executed a writ of *fi. fa.* in a suite of apartments in the Palace, occupied by the wife of the execution creditor.[1]

[1] L. R., 2 Exch., p. 290, *Attorney-General* v. *Dakin and others.*

A special case was stated for the opinion of the judges, which recited, in the main, the same facts as those given in the case of the Queen *v.* Lady Emily Ponsonby and others, noticed in an earlier chapter;[1] though there were some additional circumstances, which may be set down here, as further elucidating the status of the Palace. They were: that the Sovereign has a pew in the Chapel, which was a few years since used by the Prince of Wales, when residing in the White Lodge, Richmond; that on the demise of the Sovereign or consort an achievement of the royal arms is affixed to the Palace; that the Palace and Gardens are maintained by the Crown; that the grapes grown in the Vinery are used for the service of her Majesty's table; that the head-gardener [of the Private Gardens], commonly called the Queen's Gardener, with his three assistants, is appointed by the Lord Steward, and paid by him from the third class of the Civil List, as settled by 1 Vict., c. 2, on her Majesty's accession to the throne; that he occupies an official residence in the Palace; and that the Housekeeper, who is appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, is paid in a similar way.

It was further stated[2] that this case was the first instance, in which a *fi. fa.* had been executed, or attempted to be executed, within the Palace; but the defendants alleged that writs of *capias* had been, on several occasions, executed therein, though they admitted that the officers of the Crown were not cognizant of their execution; nor were they, in fact, aware that any process of the superior courts had ever been executed within the Palace, without the previous permission of the Board of Green Cloth, or the Lord Steward of her Majesty's Household. Further, the defendants could not furnish the names of any parties arrested, nor the dates, nor the particular parts of the Palace where any such arrests took place,

[1] *Ante*, p. 354. [2] P. 293.

the validity of such arrests, so they declared, not having been questioned, and no note, therefore, taken of the matter.

In the argument against the Crown, it was urged that the privilege claimed was one annexed to the person of the Sovereign, and that it ceased when the acts of the Sovereign indicated that there was no *animus revertendi*, and that such an indication was given, when the State Apartments were turned into a public picture gallery, and the rest of the Palace into private residences.[1]

This contention was adopted by Baron Bramwell, who, laying it down that it was the privilege of the person of the Sovereign and not of the building, gave judgment in favour of the defendants.

In this decision Baron Martin concurred. He took the view, that as the State Apartments were "totally unfit for the Queen's occupation, and as it would be impossible for her to occupy them as her dwelling, without removing the present inhabitants," the Palace was, in fact, really and substantially occupied by them, and that the privilege, consequently, did not attach; though it undoubtedly would at once, "were the Queen to change her mind and choose to occupy Hampton Court as her residence."[2]

The Chief Baron Kelly, however, took the opposite view. He held that the mere fact of the sovereign having ceased to reside at Hampton Court, for a very considerable time—without abandoning the possession, or control, or regulation of it as a Royal Palace, and still retaining the power to return to it and actually to reside in it—did not operate to divest the building of its privilege, for it was "impossible not to see that executions, whether against the person or the property of a subject, executed in any place, which is or at any time might become a royal residence, is calculated to

[1] The case was argued on May 10th, and judgment given on June 4th, 1867.
[2] P. 298.

offend the dignity, and invade and disturb the personal comfort and privacy of the sovereign." In support of this view, he relied on the judgment of Lord Ellenborough in the case of Winter *v.* Miles,[1] where the same point had arisen with regard to Kensington Palace; and adopting his language therein, declared that the question of the discontinuance of any place as a palace of residence would involve an "unseemly and unbecoming inquiry, how soon it may be her Majesty's pleasure to come and take up her residence, for a longer or a shorter period of time, actual and personal within this Palace of Hampton Court."

The majority of the Court, however, being of the contrary opinion, judgment was entered for the defendants.

The case was then taken to the Exchequer Chamber, and was argued on Feb. 7th, 1868; judgment being given on June 20th following. Blackburn, Mellor, and Lush, J.J., upheld the decision of the Court below;[2] Willes, Keating, and Montague Smith, J.J., dissenting, and pointing out that it was not likely "that the existence of this privilege will ever lead to injustice or inconvenience, as an application to the Lord Steward or other proper officer of her Majesty's household will always obtain a remedy for the creditor, either by permission to execute the process within the palace, or by his insisting upon the prompt discharge of the debt, as a condition of the enjoyment of her Majesty's bounty."[3] They laid stress also on the fact that the inhabitants "have no tenure, even at will, against the Crown, and are bound to quit at a moment's notice." The Court, however, being equally divided, the judgment of the Court below was affirmed.

After this the case was carried to the House of Lords, before whom the appeal was heard on the 24th of June,

[1] 10 East, p. 581.
[2] L. R., 3 Exch., p. 288.
[3] Do., p. 298.

1869,[1] when the following judges attended: Blackburn, Mellor, Brett, and Keating, J. J., and Cleasby, B., the last two giving their judgments in favour of the privilege.

In the course of his judgment, Mr. Justice Keating remarked: "Whether some Court physician might discover a peculiar salubrity in the air of Hampton Court [as, indeed, had the physicians of Wolsey, Henry VIII., and William III.], and whether it might not thereupon be her Majesty's wish to reside there for a greater or less portion of the year, or the like, are matters on which it would be difficult even to speculate.[2] But there can be no difficulty in saying that, if such were to be her Majesty's wish, there is nothing to prevent her doing so." He went on to observe: "A view was pressed in the Court below, though less strongly at your Lordships' bar, as if the privilege claimed were, in some way, for the benefit of the Sovereign, and in derogation of the rights of the subject. This appears to me to be a fallacy. The privilege is given, not for the benefit of the sovereign, but of the public, who are interested in the preservation of the royal palace of the sovereign from the probable scandals consequent on the intrusion of the sheriffs' officers—such as a seizure of the property of the Crown, a necessity for interpleader, or the like. Nor is the privilege claimed, the absolute exclusion of the sheriffs' officers; but only that they should enter under such permission and control as would insure the execution of the process without the risk of scandals, which are considered offensive to the public."

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, who was likewise of the same opinion, emphasized the fact of there being "large state rooms, which undoubtedly might be used, either for the purpose of holding courts, or of giving royal entertainments at Hampton Court Palace, and not very im-

[1] L. R., 4 H. of L., p. 338. [2] Do., p. 358.

probably so, considering on the one hand the neighbourhood of Hampton Court to town, and, on the other hand, its neighbourhood to the palace where the Sovereign is now constantly residing at Windsor."[1]

The judgment of the Court of Exchequer Chamber, however, being sustained by Lords Chelmsford and Colonsay, it was affirmed on the 4th April, 1870. It is not for us to dispute the soundness of the decision, in spite of the great and singular discrepancy of opinion among the judges; but it is admissible to remark that the facts of the case, as submitted to the judgment of the Courts, were not stated with all the accuracy they should have been; and that they so far misled Lord Chelmsford, that he is reported to have spoken of the State Apartments as consisting *only* of "a picture gallery, a room called the withdrawing room, and a gallery used as a depository for lumber."

However, in effect, the decision in this case has made little difference; for in the rare cases where difficulties of this sort occur, the sheriffs' officers always previously communicate with the officials of the Queen's household, and matters are arranged and adjusted, without the scandal of process being executed within her Majesty's Palace.

The next thing in the history of Hampton Court, which we must, for the sake of completeness, just briefly mention here, was the carrying out of the new system of drainage, rendered necessary by the Act of Parliament, passed in 1866, entitled "The Thames Navigation Act,"[2] which prohibited the outfall of sewage into the Thames. The new Hampton Court drainage, which was begun in 1871, and completed in 1872, cost altogether about £2,800. The sewage from the Palace is, consequently, no longer carried by the great brick drains, constructed by Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII., into the river; but now passes, in an iron sewer, underneath the

[1] P. 368.

[2] 29 and 30 Vict. cap. 89.

gardens, the Little Canal, and the House Park, to the meadows at the end of the Long Canal, by the riverside, opposite Surbiton, where, after being subjected to a process of infiltration and purification in sewage beds, the effluent liquid residue is discharged into the Thames, opposite the place of intake of the reservoirs of the Chelsea Water-works Company.

It was during the works in the Palace for carrying out this new scheme of drainage, that, on Nov. 2nd, 1871, as we related in detail in our second volume,[1] the skeletons of two full-grown men were found under the pavement of the west cloister of the Fountain Court.

Nothing else worthy of note occurred in relation to Hampton Court until July, 1876, when, as we have fully recorded in a former chapter,[2] the bridge was freed of toll.

But with the year 1880, there began a decade of the annals of Hampton Court, which has been, in various ways, interesting and eventful. In the first place, it was in 1880 that her Royal Highness Princess Frederica and her husband, Baron von Pawel Rammingen, came to reside at Hampton Court, the Queen having given her the suite of rooms in the west front of the Palace, formerly known as the "Lady Housekeeper's;"[3] and in these apartments, on the 7th of March in the following year, was born their daughter Victoria, an event which was the occasion of a private visit by her Majesty the Queen to the Princess.

Unfortunately, her Royal Highness's little daughter died within three weeks after her birth. In this sad event, the Princess and the Baron had the lively sympathy of everyone at Hampton Court, and in its vicinity. For, short as had then been the Princess's residence in the Palace, she had won all hearts by the kindliness and courtesy of her nature, and her

[1] Vol. ii., p. 160. [2] *Ante*, p. 290.
[3] See Appendix G, Suite I.

consideration for all those, with whom she had been brought in contact. Since then, as years have gone by, the cordial feeling, entertained by her neighbours towards her Royal Highness and her husband, has increased and deepened into a sentiment of the warmest regard and affection, inspired equally by the natural grace and refinement of their characters, and by the dignified simplicity of their lives.

Of the Princess's sympathetic nature, and her active interest in all undertakings, that can promote the welfare of those in a less fortunate station in life than herself, we have witness in the number of benevolent and charitable institutions, with which she is connected, and the originating of several of which, was entirely due to her exertions.

Of these, the most important was the establishing by her, near Hampton Court—a few months after the death of her child—of a Convalescent Home for poor and delicate married women, who have recently become mothers, and who require the advantages of medical aid, fresh air, and good food, which they are unable to obtain in their own homes, or at their own expense. Strange to say, until Princess Frederica suggested this institution, and worked most assiduously to promote it, nothing of the sort existed anywhere in England. In furtherance of this laudable object, her Majesty the Queen granted the Princess, in the summer of 1881, the special and exceptional privilege of using the Great Hall of the Palace, for an entertainment, in aid of the funds needed for starting it.

The entertainment, which was given on Friday, Aug. 5th, and was honoured by the presence of Princess Mary as well as Princess Frederica, was the first that had taken place within the walls of the Great Hall, since the theatrical performance,[1] given by George II., in 1731, in honour of the Duke of Lorraine. The programme consisted of a selec-

[1] *Ante*, p. 240.

tion of music, and two small dramatic pieces—"Yellow Roses" and "Tears"—in which Sir Charles Young and Lady Monckton were the principal performers. For these purposes a stage was erected on the daïs, at the upper end of the Hall; while the rest of the space was made available for an auditorium, in which some five hundred people were seated. An additional attraction was the band of the Military School of Music from Kneller Hall, which is reckoned the best in the service, and which, though, as a rule, it never performs in public, attended, on this occasion, by special permission of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. It was placed in the old minstrel gallery, where formerly the minstrels played during banquets, masquerades, and dramatic performances. Altogether the scene was an exceedingly interesting and brilliant one; and it could not fail to evoke, even in the most uninformed mind, thoughts of the many splendid festivities, that had taken place in ancient times, beneath the same historic roof.

The proceeds of the sale of the tickets for the entertainment amounted to a large sum, which, with many donations and annual contributions, enabled "Princess Frederica's Convalescent Home" to be started on the prosperous and beneficent career, which it has maintained ever since.

In the meanwhile, the historical and artistic aspects of the Palace of Hampton Court, which had, for so long a time—in fact, since the first few years immediately succeeding its free opening to the public—been almost entirely overlooked and neglected, began, about the period we have now reached, to receive renewed attention. This was principally due to the appointment, in 1874, of Mr. A. B. Mitford, C.B., as Secretary to the Board of Works, who, appreciating, at its priceless worth, the picturesque and romantic edifice entrusted to the care of his office, and taking, not merely a

perfunctory, but a warm, personal interest in everything relating to it, at once devoted all his energy and taste to preserving its ancient structure, and to effecting everything, that might add to its attractions and interest. In these efforts he was, fortunately, most ably seconded by Mr. John Lessels, the Surveyor of the Board, whose province it is to supervise all works undertaken in the royal palaces, and who rejoiced in the opportunity for doing his best to maintain Hampton Court in a proper condition. The Board, also, could not have had a more active representative at Hampton Court itself, than Mr. Chart, the Clerk of the Works, who had been appointed not long before, and who has zealously promoted and carried out all that has been recently done in the Palace, and to whom, as well as to Mr. Lessels, Mr. Mitford, and to Mr. Primrose, the present Secretary of the Board, the author owes a hearty acknowledgment, for the cordiality with which any proposals or suggestions made by him have always been entertained. Thus it was that, about the year 1878, Hampton Court entered upon a new epoch of improvement and restoration, which has continued to the present day, and which, we trust, will not close until that remote future, when all the works still needed have been achieved.

The first and preliminary step taken, was one of precaution, namely, the rendering of the Palace as secure as possible against the danger of fire—a topic to which we shall further allude later on. The next was a gradual, but systematic, execution of all such structural repairs—and they were many—as were absolutely essential to arrest serious deterioration in the fabric: repairs, that is, to roofs, walls, and water-courses. After this a further step was the gradual ridding the Palace, as opportunity served, of several unsightly excrescences, which had been allowed to be built up and disfigure its appearance in former days; while of equal

importance were: the replacing of shabbily executed modern repairs, by work in harmony with the old, and the renewal of all decayed ornamental features, in a style and manner adhering as closely as possible to that of the past—great care being taken, neither to destroy the smallest portion of the old work, nor to mar the antique aspect of the Palace, by sham and unnecessary restoration. Much of what has been done in this regard, is consequently scarcely observable by the ordinary eye—though not without account in the general effect. We will not, therefore, specify the many scores of windows, that have had their commonplace sashes replaced by stone jambs and mullions, and their ugly plate glass, by old-fashioned lattices of leaded diamond panes; the numerous badly-built chimneys of yellow brick, that have given place to decorative shafts of moulded red brick; and the oak panelling, doors, and shutters, that have been relieved of their accumulated coats of paint. All this and much more has been carried out so unobtrusively, that only those, who were intimately acquainted with the structure of the Palace some twelve years ago, and who, not having seen it in the meanwhile, should visit it now, could justly estimate how much has been recently done to improve its general external appearance.

Repairs of this general nature having been put in hand for gradual execution, the way was ready for undertaking restorations of a more attractive and noticeable kind.

One of the first and most interesting of these was the replacing, in 1880, of the dial of the old astronomical clock, which had been, for many years, stowed away uncared for in an outhouse,[1] in its original position, on the east side of the Clock Tower, facing the Second or Clock Court of the Palace; and the making of it to move again once more, after so many years of rest. The dial—composed of three

[1] See *ante*, p. 345.

concentric discs, overlapping each other, but revolving at varying rates—we have sufficiently described and explained in our first volume, where, under Henry VIII., by whom the clock was originally erected in 1540,[1] the reader will find an engraving of the dial, and the stone framework in which it is set; while the alterations of the old works at various times, and the replacing of them by a clock from St. James's in William IV.'s reign, we have adverted to in this volume, under that King.[2] As to its recent restoration: when Messrs. Gillett and Bland, of Croydon, the firm to whom the Board of Works entrusted the work, came to examine the wheels, by which the discs were to be moved, they found, by the number of teeth in some of the wheels, that it would be impossible to make the astronomical clock keep proper time, if they were left as they were. New wheels, accordingly, had to be cut, and the works adapted to our present accurate astronomical knowledge: there is, therefore, now, little left of the original clock beyond the old dial. The clock from St. James's Palace, also, being apparently unequal to the labour of driving the astronomical dial, as well as the hands of the ordinary clock face on the other side of the tower, new machinery, with all the most modern improvements in horology, was made to replace it.

The motive power is now given to the clock by three weights—one of 8 cwt., and two, moving the striking mechanism, of 4½ cwt. each. These weights, attached to steel wire-ropes carried over pulleys, are suspended in the north-west angle-turret of the Clock Tower, and descend to a depth of nearly 60 feet. An important feature in the construction of the works is technically described as "the double three-legged gravity escapement," which has this advantage, that a greater weight can be used than with other escapements, to drive the clock without affecting the

[1] See pp. 217, 220.

[2] *Ante*, p. 344.

arc of the pendulum's oscillation,—this escapement, which is actuated by a "gravity remontoire," being a constant power giving the impulse to the pendulum. The hands of the western clock-face have not a continuous motion, but jump forward every quarter of a minute; by this way of moving them the effects of their own weight and the pressure of the wind are diminished. The compensation pendulum, made of brass and iron tubes, with a cast-iron cylindrical bob, weighing about 2½ cwt., beats 1¼ seconds.

This elaborate and powerful machinery is not more than is needed for the labour of driving the discs of the dial, which are of copper, and of great weight and size—the largest, or outer one, being as much as 7 feet 10 inches in diameter. Nevertheless, it performs its functions with great accuracy, and keeps very fair time, rarely losing or gaining more than half a minute in a month. It would not even vary half a second, were it not for the disturbing influence of the wind, which gains enormous leverage from the size and weight of the dial.

Since its restoration this curious and almost unique relic of Tudor times has, we need scarcely observe, excited great interest; and visitors to the Palace are continually seen gazing, with puzzled awe, on its mystic face. If the dial is carefully studied and understood, it will tell, not only the hour of the day, but the month, the day of the month, the position of the sun in the ecliptic, the number of days since the beginning of the year, the phase of the moon, its age in days, the hour of the day at which it souths (that is, crosses the meridian), and thence the time of high water at London Bridge—all things, it is true, which the hurried excursionist, anxious to know if he has minutes enough to catch his train, cares little about; but which still may prove a useful lesson in astronomy, even in these days of "assisted education" and cheap almanacks, to anyone who will take the

trouble to master the lesson taught by the monster time-keeper of Henry VIII.

Above the astronomical clock is a hybrid classical campanile of painted wood—apparently of the time of Charles II.—which surmounts and greatly disfigures the finely-proportioned Tudor Clock Tower, and in which are hung the three clock bells, the two smaller ones "ting-tanging" the quarters. The largest one, on which the hours are struck, has a fine mellow sound, and weighs about 18 cwt. It was evidently, at one time, hung for ringing, possibly as long ago as the time of the Knights Hospitallers; for, curious to say, this bell is the oldest thing at Hampton Court—older not only than Henry VIII.'s clock, but older even than the Cardinal's palace, some years before the building of which, it issued from the foundry of a famous London bell-founder, Thomas Harrys by name, who flourished about 1479. This fact is proved by his initials, "T. H.," which are found stamped on the bell.[1] It is, therefore, very likely one of the two bells mentioned in the schedule to Wolsey's lease of the manor of Hampton Court,[2] as being in the chapel-tower of the old preceptory or manor-house of the Knights of St. John. This is the more probable, as the chapel is believed to have been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the old bell, in addition to its founder's initials, bears the following legend:

+STELLA+MARIA+MARIS+SUCCVRRE+PIISIMA+NOBIS+

(Mary most holy, Star of the Sea, come to our assistance.)

It is strange to think of this inanimate witness to the old faith, ringing out, hour by hour for nearly four centuries, this pious Catholic ejaculation in the unconscious ears of

[1] Stahlschmidt's *Surrey Bells*. There is a bell of Harrys's at Limpsfield in Surrey; and he was doing work at King's College, Cambridge, about 1479.

[2] See vol. i., p. 343.

the Protestant inhabitants of the Palace. How strange, especially, to think how little the Puritan "saints" could have suspected, on that night when Cromwell lay dying on his bed of fever in the Palace, and when they were praying for his recovery—or rather, in "saucy expostulation with God," declaring that he *must* recover[1]—that the bell up aloft, as it struck out the solemn hours of night, was uttering forth, with its iron tongue, this superstitious and idolatrous invocation to the Mother of God! How quickly, had they known it, would the bell have been dashed down and silenced for ever—dashed down as the altar, the sacred pictures, and the fine stained glass in the chapel had been, when the "godly" iconoclasts entered into possession of Charles I.'s Palace.

Strange, too, that the secret, as it were, of the old Knights Hospitallers' bell, should have been undiscovered until our day of rational toleration, when the bitterness of religious hate has been so far mitigated, and the superstitious dread of superstitious things so much allayed, that the bell, with its inscription, may yet go on, unmolested, for generations to come, sounding the hours, and marking the flight of time.

The interesting restoration of the old astronomical clock was soon followed by many others, several of which have been incidentally referred to in the course of these volumes. One, not previously noticed, which was executed in 1882, was the substituting of a fine groined ceiling of carved stone, in the archway of Wolsey's gatehouse, in the West Front,[2] in place of the flat unsightly plaster ceiling, which replaced, a hundred and ten years ago, Wolsey's original stone ceiling, and which had disgraced this entrance to the Palace ever since. The restored groining is similar in style and pattern to that under the second gate, with necessary

[1] See vol. ii., p. 195.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i., pp. 27, 54, 249, and 251, and vol. iii., *ante*, p. 295.

variations for the difference in size and proportion, this ceiling being 30 feet long by 20 broad, while the other is 18 feet square. The curvature and direction of the moulded stone ribs were determined by two angle shafts, corbels, and springing stones, which fortunately remained in two corners; and the general construction is in accordance with what is believed to have been the design and form of the original. The central compartment is filled with panels of Gothic tracery and Tudor details, and ornamented with quatrefoils containing shields, upon which are carved the arms and devices of Cardinal Wolsey, one being "T. C." (Thomas Cardinal), a favourite cypher of Wolsey's. The central "boss," or keystone, which alone weighs a ton and a half, is carved with the royal arms of the Queen. The stonework weighs altogether forty tons. The whole was designed by Mr. Lessels, and carried out under his direction.

At the same time, Wolsey's entrance gateway was further improved by the restoration of its inner walls, and of the doorways, which give access from it to the cloisters on either side; and also by replacing, in October, 1882, in their original position—instead of the hideous cast-iron gates that had so long disfigured this noble arch—the grand and massive old carved oak doors, which had lain for upwards of a century discarded in an outhouse, and were lately found serving as a floor to a carpenter's shop! These doors, which are undoubtedly of Henry VIII.'s time, are each 17 feet high by 6½ feet wide; the ribs, which are six inches thick, are studded with nails; and the panels, which are carved with the linen-fold pattern, are still, after being exposed to the weather for nearly four centuries, wonderfully well preserved.

Another important restoration, carried out about the same time, was the refacing with brick of the dilapidated plastered walls of the staircase to the Great Hall, the repairing of its

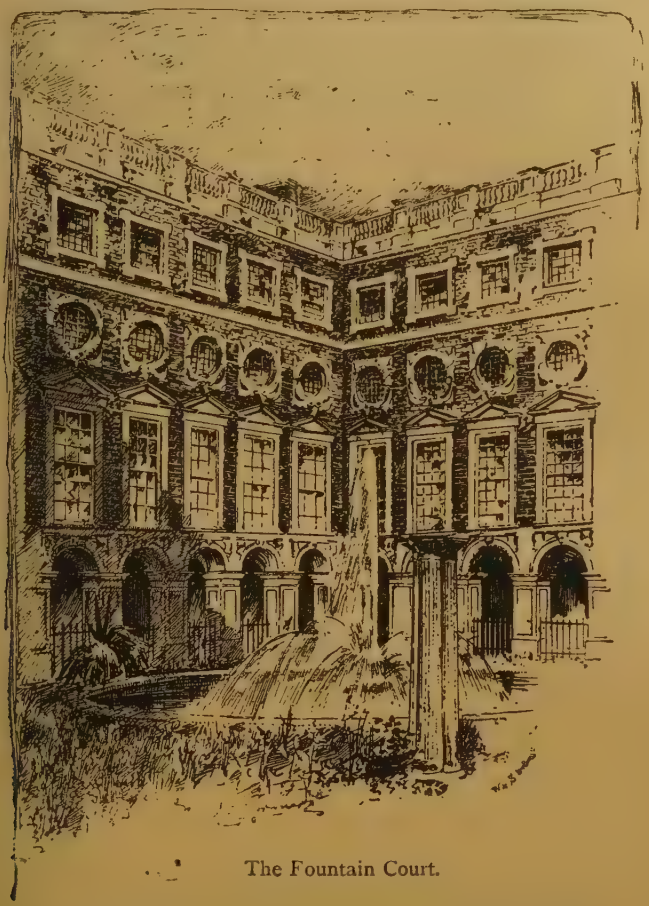
ceiling, and the replacing of its decaying supports by carved oak rafters. Other works have been: the restoration of the parapet, "crests," and pinnacles of the Great Hall, and the replacing on them of the "Kynge's Beastes" of carved stone, grasping vanes; the substitution of an octagonal red brick staircase in the "Master Carpenter's Court," for a very ugly one of yellow brick; the removing, in the same court, of a disfiguring pent-house or lean-to; the opening up of the old "Serving Place," by the removal of an excrescence built along one side of it to form a passage; the repairing and repainting of the ceiling of the "Great Watching Chamber,"[1] some of the ornaments of which had disappeared, and are now replaced by careful copies of those still remaining; and many similar works throughout the State Rooms, which we need not enumerate.

Equally important improvements have been the opening to public inspection of several curious rooms, hitherto neglected and inaccessible: for instance, the "Horn Room," between the Great Hall and the Great Watching Chamber, where the old staircase, which leads to Wolsey's kitchens, and up which the dishes were brought for his banquets, has been uncovered and revealed. "Cardinal Wolsey's Closet," also, which we described at length in our first volume,[2] has recently been restored, and was opened to the public last year.

In the meanwhile, much has been done in repairing, cleaning, and rehanging the tapestries; and there is now in hand the repairing of the stone ornamental carving on the exterior of the building. Last year, Henry VIII.'s arms, over the archways in the first two courts, were most excellently restored by Mr. Ruddick, who carefully preserves the smallest fragment of the old work, and pieces the new on to it so well, that it is impossible to detect the difference between

[1] See vol. i., p. 180. [2] P. 53.

the old and new. At present the same skilful artist is



The Fountain Court.

engaged in repairing the decaying stone carving in the Fountain Court, and on the South and East Fronts of the new

Palace—a work undertaken only just in time, as the old designs were fast being obliterated altogether.

We may take this opportunity of observing that the present total annual cost of maintaining Hampton Court Palace, and the detached buildings within the manor, is £8,700—the chief charges being: salaries and allowances, about £1,300; police, £770; fuel, lighting, and water, £1,200; and repairs and maintenance, about £5,000—in which last sum, besides the wages of workmen and the cost of material, are included such charges as sewerage, cleansing, drainage, expenses for fire prevention, heating apparatus, camp-shedding for the river, &c. The cost of keeping up the Gardens is annually £2,200—salaries and wages being £252; police and keepers, £257; and maintenance, £1,560. Bushey Park costs about £3,000.

CHAPTER XXVII.

QUEEN VICTORIA—FIRES AND FIRE PRECAUTIONS AND APPLIANCES AT HAMPTON COURT.

Fire at the Palace in December, 1882—A Servant Maid suffocated—Inquest on the Body—Damage done by the Fire—Precautionary Arrangements and Appliances—Committee appointed by the Queen—Further Safeguards adopted—Electric Alarms—The State Apartments isolated and divided into Fireproof Sections—Outbreak of a second Fire in November, 1886—Edward VI.'s Nursery burnt—Extensive Damage—Further preventive Arrangements—Its Extent, and the Damage done—Restoration of the burnt Portion of the Palace—Insurance of Private Apartments—Water Rate for a Supply at constant high Pressure—Security of the State Apartments and Pictures—Danger due to Private Apartments exaggerated—Her Majesty's Jubilee—Conclusion of the Annals of Hampton Court.

RESUMING now our annals of events in the Palace, which, in our last chapter, we brought down to the year 1881, we must notice that Hampton Court, which, with a good fortune rare among old buildings, had enjoyed complete immunity from the smallest fire, ever since its foundation 370 years ago, was unfortunately involved, within four years, in two most serious conflagrations. The first of these broke out on the morning of the 14th of December, 1882; but, as all the circumstances of this alarming occurrence were fully recorded in the public press at the time, it

will not be necessary to do more here, than briefly to recapitulate the main facts.

The fire broke out, at about half-past seven in the morning, in a suite of private apartments in the new Palace, then Mrs. Crofton's (Suite XXVII.), in the "Round Window," or "Queen's Half Storey," in a room exactly over one called the "Indian Chief's Room"—now used as the author's museum of prints and curiosities relating to Hampton Court, and adjacent to the Queen's Gallery and George II.'s Private Chamber. It owed its origin to a heating lamp, used for making tea by a servant in her bedroom, unknown to her mistress. Luckily the outbreak was discovered before it had extended very far, and an alarm being at once raised, the Palace Fire Brigade was, in a few minutes, on the spot playing on the flames, which were completely got under in about half-an-hour. The fire, however, resulted in the death of the servant, Mrs. Lucas, in whose room it originated, and who was suffocated by the smoke in going back, after having raised the alarm, to fetch something in the burning room.

This sad incident necessitated an inquest, which was held in the "Oak Room," in the Palace, on December 16th, by the "Coroner of the Verge of the Court," the official of her Majesty's Household, to whom appertains all inquiries into deaths occurring within any of the royal palaces, and who accordingly empanelled a jury of fifteen residents in the Palace, the chaplain acting as foreman. The facts elicited at this inquiry were, substantially, as we have just stated them; but the inference drawn from the evidence given, tending to show that the fire was caused by a mineral oil heating lamp, was, by subsequent investigation, shown, pretty conclusively, to have been erroneous, the real origin of the conflagration having been the overflowing of the burning spirit in a small spirit lamp.

The damage done by this fire to the fabric of the Palace was greatly exaggerated at the time, only three out of the thousand rooms which the Palace contains having been burnt; not more than five or six rooms touched by fire or smoke; not one two-thousandth part of the structure of the Palace destroyed, and no permanent injury whatever done to any work of art. The whole was made good at a charge of about £4,000. Extensive and irretrievable damage, however, was undoubtedly only prevented by the prompt and energetic action of the Fire Brigade, assisted by Captain Ramsay and the men of the 4th Hussars, then quartered at Hampton Court; and especially by the excellent appliances for extinguishing fire, with which the Palace had then recently been furnished.

As the apparatus in use at Hampton Court played a most important part in subduing the flames, not only on this occasion, but also on that of the subsequent fire in 1886, we shall offer no apology for describing them with some fulness of detail, as well as the precautions taken for localizing any outbreak that might occur, and for insuring the safety of the Queen's pictures and other works of art.

The principal apparatus is a steam fire-engine and pump, fixed on the premises, near the building, which can, in a few minutes, develop a pressure capable of throwing six large jets of water far above the highest pinnacle of the Palace, and which can pump about 700 gallons of water a minute. In connection with this, there is a special fire-main, laid on the roof behind the parapet, by which the firemen are enabled to deluge the top of the Palace with water, and to the existence of which was chiefly due the extinguishing of both the fires at Hampton Court. This fire-main and the fixed steam-engine, by which it is charged, were erected at the instance, and through the determined energy of Mr. Mitford, in spite of much opposition, soon after his appoint-

ment to the Secretaryship of the Board of Works, who, as we have said, did so much for the Palace during his tenure of office.

Besides this there are, on the main, fifty-five hydrants, fourteen of which are within the State Rooms, and twenty outside, and all of which are kept constantly charged with water, at a pressure reaching to the level of the ceilings of the State Rooms. In addition to all this, there are two manual engines, a fire curricle, three hand-pumps, seventy-five buckets, six new corridor engines, and two hand-pumps on the landings, and a fire-escape of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade pattern.

The Fire Brigade now consists of a Superintendent and eighteen men, six of whom are resident within the Palace, and all of whom live close by. They have weekly practices; are regularly drilled once a month; and periodically inspected by an experienced officer, specially selected for this service.

All these precautionary arrangements and appliances existed prior to the fire of December, 1882; and their efficiency has been amply demonstrated by the successful way in which they coped, not only with that outbreak, but also with the more serious and dangerous one of November, 1886, as we shall see. After the first fire, however, many further measures were taken to guard against this danger to Hampton Court. Had it not been, indeed, for the loss of life, that was caused by the first outbreak, it might have been regarded rather as a fortunate occurrence than otherwise. For it gave the authorities, who were anxious for the safety of the Palace, an excellent opportunity for pressing upon the Treasury, the urgent necessity of further precautions. To consider what steps should be taken in this direction, a committee was appointed by her Majesty the Queen, consisting of Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, K.C.B., Comptroller of her Majesty's Household; Mr. A. B. Mitford, then

Secretary of H. M. Board of Works; and Mr. March, Secretary of the Board of Green Cloth, to inquire into and report upon the whole subject.

In accordance with their recommendations, the Palace was soon after provided throughout with electric fire-alarms; all the State Apartments, which had hitherto been heated by means of coke stoves, were fitted with hot-water pipes; several rooms adjacent to them, which had until then been in private occupation, were detached from the inhabited part of the Palace; and the whole series of State Rooms isolated from the rest of the building by solid brick walls, carried up through the roofs, and by steel doors; and sub-divided, besides, into several fire-proof sections; while to all the important pictures and the tapestries was attached lowering gear, for facilitating their speedy removal. In addition to these safeguards, there have been, since 1882, four night watchmen, the night being divided into two watches, and two men constantly patrolling both the inside and the outside of the Palace; besides the sentry at the gate, and the extra police, who are continually on duty night and day, since the dynamite "scares."

These supplementary precautions, which cost an additional £4,500, had no sooner been in operation at Hampton Court, when another alarming fire broke out, on the 19th of November, 1886, which, though unattended with any loss of life, and though not occasioning injury to anything of artistic interest, yet was much more formidable in its extent and the amount of damage it caused, than the fire of December, 1882. Fortunately, the scene of the conflagration, which at one time assumed very threatening proportions, was a long way from the State Rooms, and in a portion of the Palace—known as "My Lord Prince's Lodgings" or "Edward VI.'s Nursery"—which had been much rebuilt in Georgian days, and in which there was very little

of any archæological interest. The apartments in question are situated on the first floor, in the north-east corner of the Tudor Palace, having windows abutting south on the Chapel Court, and north on Tennis Court Lane.[1] They were, in 1886, as at present, in the occupation of Miss Cuppage (Suite XXXIX.), though temporarily tenanted, at the time of the fire, by Lord Alwyne Compton, who was then in command of a detachment of the 10th Hussars quartered at Hampton Court.

The flames, which were first noticed at half-past ten in the morning, originated in a dark housemaid's closet (situated in the south-west angle of the Chapel Court), where the use of a light was always required, and where a servant had left a lighted candle. Unluckily this corner of the Palace was very confined, and contained much inflammable modern material, such as flimsy partitions and panelling, furnishing ready food for the fire, which rapidly acquired considerable hold of the building. As soon, however, as the steam fire-engine and mains were got to work, all serious anxiety lest the flames should extend their area, and spread to more important parts of the Palace, was allayed; though it tested all the energies of the Palace Fire Brigade, heartily assisted by the men of the 10th Hussars, and afterwards by a dozen fire-brigades from neighbouring towns, to subdue them. Indeed, nearly three hours and a half elapsed before the fire was entirely extinguished, though it was practically mastered in an hour and a half. An exciting incident was the rescue of an invalid lady, Miss Somerset, from her apartments (Suite XL.), and the carrying her over the roof to a place of security; for which Mr. Thorne, the warder of the Garden gate, received the medal of the Royal Humane Society.

It was a fortunate circumstance that this fire occurred in

[1] See Appendix G, Suite XXXIX.

a portion of the Palace, of all others, where least mischief could have been done to anything of historical or archæological interest. For though the main and outer walls—the only part that withstood the flames—were ancient, and dated from the time when Edward VI. was Prince of Wales, the internal part, which was entirely destroyed, had been completely transformed and badly rebuilt in Georgian days; and the whole so much needed repair and restoration, that it had long been marked out for this purpose by those interested in Hampton Court.

This second fire, therefore, likewise brought some good results in its train; for it afforded an opportunity, which could not otherwise have occurred, of re-erecting the whole of the inside in a solid and substantial manner, and also of thoroughly restoring the Tudor aspect of this part of the Palace. This improvement has, in fact, been thoroughly effected: the patched walls, the slated roofs, the commonplace sash-windows, the nondescript doors, the shapeless chimneys, having given place to deep-crimson Tudor brickwork, red-tiled roofs, stone mullioned windows, with latticed casements of leaden panes, and moulded chimney-shafts; while the inside has been equally improved, dark narrow passages, stuccoed walls, flimsy inflammable partitions, and all the common and tasteless contrivances of the end of the last century, being now succeeded by ample spaces, in harmony with the old cloisters, by solid walls, by oak panelled doors, and the various quaint and picturesque features of the Tudor style. As nearly forty rooms had been destroyed or damaged by the fire, the work thus entailed was very great; and the total cost—of which no inconsiderable proportion was incurred in respect of these excellent restorations—amounted to about £8,000, for which a special vote was obtained in 1887.

All possibility, however, of a similar expenditure ever again

being necessary, to make good damage by a fire originating in the private apartments at Hampton Court, will be prevented in the future by a new regulation, whereby each occupant is now required to contribute a quota towards the insurance of the Palace against fire. Hitherto Hampton Court, like all other Royal or State property, had never been insured, for a reason, which will be apprehended at once by everyone, who understands the theory of assurance and the principle of averaging a loss; but the special risks, to which it is exposed from the occupation of apartments by private individuals, seemed to make it fair that they should insure the Crown and State against a danger, of which they are the occasion.

On the same principle, the inhabitants of the Palace are, since the second fire, required to pay a sort of "water rate," to make up a sum of £50 a year, which is the rent payable to the Grand Junction Water-Works Company for an extra supply of water to the Palace, at constant high pressure. This supply was provided, on the recommendation of the Committee, after the second fire, as a supplementary precaution; and is conveyed to the Palace from the works of the company at Hampton in a nine-inch main, and distributed throughout the building by branch pipes. The cost of laying the main was about £1,500, and the re-arranging the branches about £600.

Now, therefore, at all hours of the day and night, every hydrant throughout the palace is constantly charged, and ready, at a moment's notice, to pour water to the highest point of the Palace, wherever and whenever required. Taking all these arrangements and precautions into consideration, we doubt whether there is any building in Europe so thoroughly equipped against the danger of fire as Hampton Court.

But besides these provisions against disaster, there are several other circumstances, which afford still further secu-

rity to the State Apartments and their valuable contents. Among these, we may reckon the fact that the rooms in which the pictures and tapestry are hung, for the most part extend, as a glance at the plan will show, round the four sides of the Fountain Court to a length of nearly 1,500 feet; and that they are located in such a manner that one part is almost entirely isolated from the other. Next, the great thickness of the old walls would always materially aid in localizing any conflagration, as, in fact, was the case in the two fires that have occurred. Then, the twenty-five State Rooms are all on the first floor, and have as many as ninety-seven large sash-windows, abutting on four different open spaces, and in seven different directions, as it were, through which the pictures could be passed, with the greatest facility, to the ground. Further, besides the machinery, which we have before spoken of, for moving the pictures with ease and safety in case of fire, the nine great pieces of Mantegna's Triumph are attached to a special hydraulic mechanism, whereby they can immediately be lowered from the walls of the gallery, where they hang, through a trap door in the floor, to the open cloister beneath. Comparing all these circumstances with those of the National Gallery, with its skylights and its single entrance, or with the confined and combustible buildings of the South Kensington Museum, it will appear that the treasures of art at Hampton Court are relatively secure.

With regard to the source of danger to the State Rooms and pictures, consequent on four-fifths of the Palace being occupied by private families, it is one that has been much exaggerated, by persons unfamiliar with the topography of the Palace. For Hampton Court is a vast and somewhat straggling conglomeration of buildings, rather than one compact whole, covering about nine acres of space, and enclosing numerous courtyards; so that some parts of the Palace are

as far separated from each other, and as distinct and detached, as the various sides of a London square—another circumstance, which would tend to localize any outbreak. It is to be observed, also, that not more than ten out of the fifty private apartments are in the same block as the State Rooms, and of these only three or four in close proximity with them; while many are as far removed and almost as detached as Morley's Hotel from the National Gallery. Keeping all these points in view, it would seem impossible, therefore, that any fire could ever occur, which would involve the whole Palace.

After the fire of November, 1886, no further event of any note took place at Hampton Court. Having, therefore, chronicled the fact that her Majesty's Jubilee, in 1887, was celebrated with much rejoicing in the royal manor, we are brought down to the close of the year 1890, with which these annals of Hampton Court conclude.

Before, however, bidding farewell to our readers, we may devote a couple of chapters to a topic, on which much curiosity is often expressed—namely, the inner life of the present denizens of the Palace—a curiosity, which we will gratify, in so far as we have not already done so incidentally, here and there, in our preceding pages, by lifting the veil, and affording the public a peep into the private apartments.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

QUEEN VICTORIA—THE PRIVATE APARTMENTS AND THEIR PRESENT OCCUPANTS.

Variety in the Size, Comfort, and Convenience of the Private Apartments—Complete Houses, Flats, and "Upper Parts"—Convenient and Inconvenient Suites—Disconnected scattered Accommodation—Square Pegs in Round Holes—Conditions of Tenure—Ordinance against Dogs in the Palace—The Officials defied by an intrepid Lady—Another refractory Resident—Threatens to set Fire to the Palace—Conflict of Authorities—"Spheres of Influence" of the various Departments—The Board of Works—The Lord Chamberlain—The Lord Steward—The Woods and Forests—Story of a Lady and the "Boards"—Application to use an old Staircase—Obstructed by the several Authorities—Getting through a Doorway—Pining at the Garden Gate—The Inhabitants of the Palace at the present Day—Mrs. Ellice—Lady Georgiana Grey—Apartments given in Recognition of distinguished Public Services—Drawbacks to the Advantages of Apartments—Expenses of Maintenance—Rates, Contributions, and Subscriptions—Idiosyncrasies of Palatial Life—"The Push"—Friendships formed at Hampton Court—Inhabitants in every Department of Life—The Civil Service—Diplomacy—Sir Augustus Paget—Lord Dufferin and Ava—The Army and the Navy—Sir Frederick Roberts—Soldiers' and Sailors' Graves.

OF the division of Hampton Court Palace into private apartments, and its occupation by private families, we have already said a good deal when dealing with the reign of George III., and incidentally in our last six chapters; and on the general topic we have little to add. But we may observe here, that the suites, which now number altogether fifty-

three, inclusive of such detached houses, as the Pavilions, the Banqueting House, the Tennis Court House, the Stud House, and so on, vary considerably in size, comfort, and convenience; some, such as that formerly the Lady Housekeeper's, having as many as forty rooms, with five or six staircases; others, that is, the smaller suites, having no more than ten or twelve. The average accommodation lies between fifteen and twenty rooms; but the sizes, again, of the rooms themselves, vary very much, some being exceedingly large and lofty; others, on the contrary, very small and low. Scarcely any two suites, either, resemble each other in arrangement or shape—a fact partly due to the haphazard way in which the Palace was first diverted from its original to its present use, and private and separate residences cut and carved out of a series of rooms, intended for the very different purpose of accommodating a court. Some indeed are, as it were, complete houses in themselves, of several storeys, with front and back doors and staircases, with large entrance halls, galleries, and passages; others, again, are rather in the nature of "flats," all the chief rooms, and sometimes the offices also, being on one floor; while others are something between the two, resembling rather what are known in London as "upper parts."

Again, though, in some cases, the suites of apartments are entirely self-contained and compact; in others they are inconveniently disjointed and disconnected; the offices, perhaps, being on the ground floor, and the rest of the rooms in the upper storeys; the bulk of the suite on one floor, up one staircase, and a couple of bedrooms on another floor, up a different staircase; or, again, as in one or two cases, the kitchen and offices being across a semi-open cloister. Indeed, there is a special instance of an inconvenience worse than this, in the case of a suite, the principal rooms of which are composed of Wolsey's guest-chambers, on the

first floor in the north range of the First Court; while the offices are in another part of the building, among the Cardinal's kitchens, not only some way off, but positively on the other side of a small open court, across which, in mediæval fashion, the dishes for every meal have to be brought, from the kitchen to the dining-room.

Anomalies such as these were partly occasioned by the capricious fashion in which, in old days, rooms in one corner of the Palace were, for no apparent reason, unless to favour some influential individual, attached to an apartment far away at the other end of the building; and partly by the calm way, in which some of the inhabitants would grab any room that might be vacant, anywhere in the Palace, and, without leave, appropriate it to their own use. In the present day, of course, anything of this sort would be utterly impossible; for not only is the Lord Chamberlain's full and deliberate sanction requisite, before the smallest nook or corner can be occupied by an inhabitant, but every room, and even receptacle, is separately numbered, and its allocation to any particular person carefully recorded in the books of the department.

In the meantime, such inconveniencies as still subsist, are much less than they were formerly; and they are gradually being mitigated, as far as is feasible, whenever opportunities occur. Changes, with this object, however, can rarely be made, except when vacancies take place; and even then there is always much to hamper the best efforts, in the overlapping of contiguous apartments, and still more in the adjusting of conflicting claims.

But apart from the inconveniences above adverted to, the difference of size and accommodation in the various suites, is not to be considered altogether as a disadvantage; as their diversities minister to different requirements; and much of the charm of the private apartments at Hampton Court is

owing to their quaintness and old-fashioned variety. Efforts, besides, are usually made to select for a particular suite a recipient, whose requirements are adapted to the accommodation afforded. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there are still a good many square pegs in round holes—occupants with large families and their accompaniments of a staff of nurses and governesses being cramped into small apartments; while in a neighbouring one, perhaps, a widowed and solitary lady luxuriates in a surplusage of half-a-dozen spare bedrooms and three or four reception rooms.

Passing now to consider the conditions, subject to which apartments in Hampton Court Palace are at present granted, we may observe that the chief of them have already been mentioned in former chapters. But in addition to what we have there stated, as to the injunctions put upon the occupants, to maintain their rooms in a state of tenantable repair; as to the stringent rules against retaining possession of them, unless occupying them regularly a part of every year; against leaving them unprotected when absent; and, above all, against the malpractice of lending them without leave; there are now one or two further regulations. For instance, a clause has usually been inserted in recent warrants, providing that the grant should lapse on the marriage of the occupant; and another is generally added, stating that it is a condition of the grant that no dog is to be kept in the apartments.

This last regulation—which was made chiefly in reference to the suites situated in the uppermost storeys of the new Palace, and therefore a long distance from any open ground—is one to which, it may well be imagined, it is not very easy to compel obedience. Some of the inhabitants, indeed, have not shrunk from covertly disregarding altogether the official ordinance banishing their pets; while

one intrepid and determined lady is said valiantly to have hurled explicit and terrible defiance at the whole phalanx of authorities, that hold sway over the Palace: at the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, and all his officers and henchmen; at the Lord Steward of her Majesty's Household, and his whole assembled "Board of Green Cloth;" at the First Commissioner of her Majesty's Works and Buildings, and each and every member of his "Board;" with their attendant staff of secretaries, surveyors, and clerks, armed in all their panoply of foolscap and quill pens.

Whether an encounter, at close quarters, ever took place between these two opposing forces—between my lady with her lapdogs and "my lords" with their red-tape—history does not record; but if such a conflict of giants ever did come to pass, we may be pretty sure, whatever its issue, and whatever the terms of peace, that the lady, after the enemy had withdrawn from the field, immediately reverted to the *status quo ante.*

Nor is this a solitary instance of a refractory resident at Hampton Court proving a match for all the officials of the Crown. For a story is told of another lady, occupying some years ago one of the best suites of apartments in the Palace, who, when informed by the Lord Chamberlain that some fine old tapestry, belonging to the Crown, which hung in her rooms, was required for another of the royal palaces, replied that she altogether declined to part with it. My lord remonstrated, my lady was firm; my lord insisted, my lady was inexorable. At last his lordship threatened that unless she gave it up voluntarily, he would send some of his myrmidons, and have it forcibly removed; to which her ladyship replied that, if he dared to do so, she would set fire to the Palace! The determined character of the lady being well known, her threat prevailed, and she remained in undisturbed possession of the tapestry until her death.

On the other hand, it must be allowed that the inhabitants sometimes, on their part, find the officials rather difficult to deal with; especially when, owing to the subdivision of departments, distinct and even antagonistic authorities claim control. An amusing case of this is recorded of some windows of a royal palace which needed cleaning, but which remained dirty for a considerable time, because the outside of the panes being subject to the Woods and Forests, and the inside to the Lord Steward, nothing could be done until these two high departments of state were induced to combine for this important purpose.[1]

But a still more curious instance of this sort of thing occurred at Hampton Court, many years ago, to a lady, who inhabited a suite of private apartments in the Palace.

By way of preamble we must remark that "the spheres of influence" of the various departments are, in a broad and general way, delimited thus: the outside or "shell" of the building, including all that relates to structural maintenance and repairs, falls under the jurisdiction of the Board of Works; the regulation of the interior of the building, involving all such high questions as the use to which rooms are to be put, the opening and shutting of doors, and the passing from one state room to another, are within the province of the Lord Chamberlain; while, superimposed over all, and, to a certain extent, co-ordinate with both the foregoing, is the undefined and indefinable authority of the Lord Steward, or the "Board of Green Cloth": so that, to decide, in certain cases, whose is the responsibility, and whose the power, may give rise to discussions transcending in nicety the most recondite legal arguments, and involving points of the subtlest metaphysics. Further to complicate matters, the portions of the Palace open to the public are, even as regards their

[1] Stanhope's *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, p. 275.

interior, to a certain degree, within the purview and control of the Board of Works; while, in addition to these three departments, there is the Office of Woods and Forests, which, at one time, had a roving commission over everything in the nature of parks, gardens, and open spaces. When we add to all these, the departments of the Master of the Horse, and of the War Office, to say nothing of the Metropolitan Police, all of which occasionally join in the fray, if they deem that their prerogatives are being tampered with, or their dignity lightly treated, our readers will understand something of the difficulties of getting anything done at Hampton Court.

No better instance, as we have said, could be given of this, than the story of the lady mentioned above, who applied for the privilege of having access to the gardens, down a disused staircase, which communicated with her rooms. In the first place, she had to apply to the Lord Chamberlain's department for permission to use the staircase, and to open the doors at the top and the bottom of it. This having been, after much discussion, conceded, she thought she would have no difficulty in passing *through* the door, at the bottom of the stairs, into the passage that leads to the garden. But in this she was pitiably mistaken. She did, indeed, manage to reach the door, and the Lord Chamberlain had opened it, but she could not cross its threshold without authorization from the Board of Works; for woe to anyone who breaks their "shell" without leave! This obstacle, however, being in due course surmounted, the lady thought she would now be allowed to pass, without any further obstruction, through the passage into the garden.

But it is one thing to get into one end of a passage in a Royal Palace, quite a different thing to get out of it at the other. For barring her way into the garden, all three

"Boards" again confronted her: first, the Lord Chamberlain, brandishing his keys; next, the Board of Works, with their "shell;" then the Board of the Lord Steward, who always mysteriously appears on the scene, when least expected, flourishing his "green cloth," and objecting to everything everywhere, on no grounds in particular. The three "Boards," however, were once more propitiated; and the lady rashly thought that, at last, the goal of her hopes was won. But she had reckoned without another "Board."

For, after reaching the garden door by the combined authority, and the joint and several assents and consents of the three chief departments; after turning the lock by leave of the Lord Chamberlain, opening the door by leave of the Lord Steward, and passing through it by leave of the Board of Works, she could not get into the garden, through a small iron gate, without the high permission and authority, for that purpose duly sued for, and after full consideration, deliberation, and consultation, properly had and obtained from the First Commissioner and Board of her Majesty's Office of Woods and Forests. For a while the matter looked ominous, for the "Board" at first would not relent —the sensibility, so it was maliciously said, of some sensitive Commissioner having been ruffled, by the way in which his permission had been taken for granted. The lady, in fact, would, we suspect, have been pining at the gate of this paradise to this day, had she not wisely approached this Commissioner in a proper spirit of deference, so that at last the "Board" was soothed, permission was given, "the gate was passed, and heaven was won."

Of the individual inhabitants of the Palace at the present time, it will be unnecessary to say much; for their identity, and the circumstances and causes of their receiving the Queen's gracious favour, are sufficiently apparent from

the notes appended to their names, under the headings of the suites they occupy.[1] Two only will we mention by name here: Mrs. Ellice, who, during her fifty years' residence in the Palace, has always taken a chief part in its society, by constantly entertaining, and by her unrivalled social talents; and whose rich fund of interesting anecdote and reminiscences of bygone celebrities in the old world of politics, fashion, and diplomacy, in which she spent so much of her life, are the delight of the intimate friends she still receives; and Lady Georgiana Grey, daughter of Earl Grey, the famous Reform statesman and Prime Minister, to whom she acted for many years as private secretary. Lady Georgiana is often referred to in the diaries and letters of ministers and famous literary men: by Macaulay,[2] and by Lord Malmesbury, who records how beautifully she played on the harp.[3]

It is no secret that Lady Georgiana is now within a few months of her ninety-first year; but, with every sense and faculty unimpaired, she is as strong, well, and healthy as most people at half her age. We may add that her apartments are still one of the chief social centres of Hampton Court, her dinners and parties being the pleasantest in the Palace; while to her the young men and ladies in the Palace and its neighbourhood, have owed many delightful dances and theatrical entertainments in the Oak Room. For it is ever her greatest delight to see the young people about her enjoying themselves; and she enters with keenness into everything that may minister to their amusement.

As to the other inhabitants of the Palace, we will only observe, in a general way, that the apartments are con-

[1] Appendix G.

[2] Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, July, 1831.

[3] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. i., p. 36.

ferred, almost invariably, in recognition of distinguished services rendered to the Crown and country by the husbands or near relatives of the recipients. Indeed, whatever may be said of some of the earlier nominations, in previous reigns, to discover plausible objections to the grounds, on which persons have been thus favoured in the present reign, would tax the ingenuity, even of the most captious of disappointed applicants. Recently the privilege has been almost entirely confined to widows or unmarried ladies, who are, however, permitted to join their families or relatives in the occupation.

We may here take the opportunity of correcting a misapprehension, which seems sometimes to prevail, that the poorer a lady, to whom apartments are given at Hampton Court, the greater the boon conferred. Nothing could be more fallacious: and the proof lies in the facts, that, in several cases, ladies, who have been offered apartments, have declined them, on the ground that they had not sufficient means adequately to maintain them; that some, after occupying them for a time, have given them up, for the same reason; that the most frequent absentees are usually those who, one would suppose, could least afford to forego the advantage of lodging rent-free; whilst conversely, among the residents, who most continuously occupy their rooms, are usually those who are relatively well off; and that, in one or two cases, residents whose incomes have diminished, have resigned their apartments in consequence. The reason of this is that, apart from the duty incumbent on the inhabitants of maintaining the inside of their apartments; and apart from the cost of warming, lighting, and cleaning large suites of rooms; there are the poor's rates, insurance, water rate, and many other contributions and subscriptions of a more or less obligatory nature, which, taken with the high cost of living at Hampton Court, materially detract from the

advantage of having no rent to pay. These facts, which are not always patent to aspirants for the luxury of apartments in the Palace, and of which the after-discovery is apt to produce very considerable disappointment, are now, we believe, usually taken official cognizance of, by an inquiry, before an offer of apartments is made, as to whether the pecuniary circumstances of the applicant are sufficient to keep them up in a proper condition.

Beyond the peculiar arrangements, incidentally noticed above, due to the circumstance that a large building has been divided to accommodate fifty families, there is little to notice in the mode of domestic life of the inhabitants of Hampton Court at the present time, which is, in most respects, much the same as any other place. One or two idiosyncrasies, however, may be mentioned: the first, the case of suites of apartments entirely in the upper storey of the new Palace, and, consequently, at an immense height from the ground, when it is customary, for the purpose of hoisting up cards, notes, letters, and small parcels, to make use of a basket, attached to a string, the lowering of which suddenly, about the unsuspecting head of a visitor, unaccustomed to this peculiarity of palatial life, has a somewhat startling effect.

Another idiosyncrasy of the inner life of the inhabitants of the Palace, is the use of an old sedan-chair, mounted on wheels, drawn by a chairman, and called "the Push," which is used by the ladies for going out in the evening to dinners or parties, from one part of the building to another. This curious survival of a bygone age, of which we here insert a sketch, is probably the only sedan-chair in actual use in England.

As for the mysteries of modern society within the Palace, we shall not attempt to penetrate them; for it is a subject, which would require the pen of a Miss Austen or a "George

Eliot" adequately to portray. Besides, the palmy days of Palace society were, probably, in the earlier part of the century; when the inhabitants belonged rather more to the same social "set" than they do now; when half of them were, more or less, nearly related to each other—each of the families of FitzRoy, Wellesley, Seymour, and Paget, holding three or four suites of apartments—and when they mostly had the same acquaintances and friends.

The "Push."

Even now, however, the inhabitants, living, as they do, all under the same roof, constantly seeing and meeting each other, and having so many interests in common, it is not surprising that bonds of the most intimate friendship are formed between many of them; which bonds have been the closer, when those, whom they link, have grown up together from childhood in the Palace, and have passed their youth together, engaging in the same pursuits, and sharing the same amusements; and

they have usually endured, long after the connection with Hampton Court has ceased; while in many cases they have been cemented by that closest tie of all—marriage. There is, in truth, something so essentially home-like in the old Palace, that very few can dwell within it long, without growing attached to it; and most of those, who have left it, though their lot may be cast on long-distant shores, yet look back, with warm affection and regret, to the old home in the old days gone by, cherishing fond remembrance of their old friends, and sad thoughts of the past at Hampton Court, entwined with tender memories of sweet forms and faces vanished for ever, of sweet voices heard now, alas! no more.

Besides this, there are so many relatives of present or former occupants—such as their sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, and cousins, who may have resided more or less at Hampton Court—diffused in every quarter of the globe, that it is a common remark, that it is impossible to go anywhere without meeting someone who has lived at Hampton Court, and with whom there is at once a bond of union.

In every department of life, also, and in every profession, there are numerous links of this sort—especially in the Civil Service, and in the Army and the Navy; for it is above all in the service of the Crown and State that the sons of those, who have received apartments at Hampton Court, look for a career—in spheres where the honour of their Queen and the interests of their country are the spur to action and endeavour, rather than the sordid motives of personal gain.

Thus we find in almost every branch of the Civil Service, the sons of present or former occupants: in the Foreign Office; in the Treasury; in the Inland Revenue; in the Admiralty, the Secretary of which is an old Hampton Court man (see Suite L.); in the Board of Trade, in

which the Secretary of the Railway Department is also the son of one of the present occupants (see Suite XXXVIII.); while the Queen's Private Secretary, General Sir Henry Ponsonby, K.C.B., is the son of a former inhabitant, Lady Emily Ponsonby (see Suite I.).

In diplomacy, likewise, former inhabitants of the Palace have been particularly prominent, among them being Sir Augustus Paget, son of Lady Augusta Paget (see Suite V.), formerly Ambassador at the Court of Rome, and now of Vienna; and Lord Dufferin and Ava, now Ambassador at Rome.[1]

The Army and the Navy, also—not to mention many, who are serving in posts of honour and utility in every quarter of the British Empire—are equally beholden to Hampton Court for some of the most distinguished officers; for instance, Admiral Lord Alcester, son, as we have before stated,[2] of the late Sir Horace Seymour (see Suite II.); while in the Army, besides many others, several of whom have received the Victoria Cross, we have the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir Frederick Roberts, son of the late Lady Roberts (see Suite XXXIII.).

Some there are, also, with equal title to have their names inscribed on the bead-roll of fame, who have gone forth from their loved home, to fight in distant climes for the honour of their Queen and country, who have gone forth—never to return! They have fallen in the bush in South Africa; amid the frozen passes of Afghanistan; on the scorching deserts of the Soudan: no loving woman's hand to close their eyes, or lay their form to rest; no stone inscribed or slab, to mark the spot. But theirs is that noblest shrine—a soldier's grave: only a cross—a simple wooden cross—to tell the hope of him who is gone, and of those who linger yet behind. Others there are whose tomb is

[1] See *ante*, p. 333.

[2] See *ante*, p. 331.

the limitless ocean; whose shroud is the tossing wave; and who, blended with the mighty, ever-rolling waters, which are their monument, shall be borne onwards and onwards, until time and they dissolve and pass to the haven of eternity.

CHAPTER XXIX.

QUEEN VICTORIA—HAMPTON COURT AT THE PRESENT DAY—CONCLUSION.

Occupations and Amusements of Modern Hampton Court—Parties, Dances, Theatricals, Tennis, Boating—Sport and Races—Hampton Court a Racing Centre—Epsom, Ascot, Sandown, Kempton, and Hurst Park—Proximity to London—Intellectual and Social Atmosphere of the Palace—Its Historical and Romantic Attractions—The Pictures—The Parks—Their enchanting Beauty in Summer—Bushey Park—The Great Lime and Chestnut Avenue—The Chestnuts in full Bloom—The Home Park—Its Lime Avenues and Long Canal—Its exquisite Scenery—The Gardens—Their Antique and Picturesque Charm—Their formal Trimness—The Private Gardens—The Shrubs in the Flowery Month of May—The delightful Fountains, Bowers, and Arbours—The old Pond Garden—Its Rare and Dainty Beauty—The Public Gardens—The Wilderness—The Gardens in Spring and Summer—The Gardens by Moonlight—Exquisite Loveliness of the Scene—Impressive Stillness of the Palace at Night—The Fountain Court by Moonlight—The Watchman on his Rounds—Visions of the Past—Memories of Days gone by—Fleeting Time—Permanence in Change—Hampton Court a Symbol and Monument of English History—Conclusion.

WE have now reached the final stage in these annals of Hampton Court; but before our closing words, we have first to devote a few paragraphs to the occupations and amusements, which Hampton Court affords its inhabitants at the present day. In regard to this, within the Palace itself, besides the dinners, parties, dances, and occasional balls that take

place, there are now and then private theatricals on the charming little stage, which, with several set scenes, and all the needful properties, is set up, whenever required, in the "Oak Room," where many a piece—from Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the "Tempest," to "Woodcock's Little Game"—has been presented with great success.

Within the precincts of the Palace, also, there is the attraction of the Tennis Court, one of the best, as it undoubtedly is the oldest, in England, and the prototype of all the existing courts. The Tennis Court and its marker are maintained by the fees of the gentlemen in the Palace and neighbourhood, who are members of the club, and by those of anybody—for the court is open to the public—who likes to engage the court to play in. There is, likewise, a lawn tennis court, in the Private Gardens, kept up by subscriptions from among the inhabitants; while Bushey Park is, in the summer, frequently the scene of cricket matches.

In winter, too, enthusiastic athletes may often have a game of football on the Green, or a run with a neighbouring pack of beagles; and in severe winters may enjoy, on the Long Canal in the Home Park, some of the best skating to be had anywhere within twenty miles of London.

For half the year, however, the river, that flows under the very walls of the Palace and Gardens, is the chief source of delight to the inhabitants—fishing, rowing, punting, canoeing, and sailing, all having their fervent devotees among both sexes—for, so much has the tyrant, Convention, lost her power, that it is very rare not to see, on a summer's day, some young lady from the Palace handling an oar, punting-pole, or paddle, in the stream of the silver Thames.

But we have yet to mention another element that, above all, adds to the liveliness of modern Hampton Court: we mean its proximity to so many racecourses, which have, within recent years, surrounded it on all sides. It has, in

fact, now become a regular racing centre, whence keen sportsmen or sportswomen—and there are many of these both in the Palace and on the Green—may attend race-meetings almost every week of the year. For instance—to say nothing of Epsom, which is within a pleasant and easy drive, and to which, especially in Derby week, several parties always set out from Hampton Court—Ascot, Windsor, Aldershot, and other places are within easy reach by train. But more than this, two miles on one side of the Palace is Kempton Park, with its six meetings, and ten days' racing in the year; and two miles on the other side is Sandown Park, the favourite resort of the younger inhabitants, with its five meetings, and ten days' racing.

As if all these race-meetings did not afford enough sport for the most ardent lover of horseflesh, there was established, about two years ago, on the far-famed Molesey Hurst, almost at the very gates of Wolsey's Palace, the Hurst Park Club, which, though started as a course for pony and galloway races, has now got a licence from the Jockey Club for flat-racing; and which, besides, offers, throughout the season, one long succession of sporting events, such as pony races, steeple-chases, hurdle races, polo, football, cricket and lawn tennis matches, and horse-shows.

Add to all these attractions the annual sale, in the Bushey Park Paddock, of her Majesty's yearlings; the detachment of cavalry always quartered at the Palace; its situation in a pleasant neighbourhood; its advantages of a gravelly soil and a fine air; and its proximity to London—and it will be understood, that the people, who reside here, need not necessarily lead lives of unrelieved and unmitigated tedium. Hampton Court is, perhaps, a dull place—for dull people; but for those, who know how to make the best of things, and snatch pleasure as it flies, there are not many

country places, which offer such a variety of occupation and amusement as the spot, which Cardinal Wolsey, in his wisdom, three hundred and seventy-five years ago, pitched upon as a suitable place whereon to build himself a home.

Hampton Court, in fact, while still retaining a sort of *cachet* of its own, has become a pleasant suburb of London; whence it is easy—as the railway station is only six minutes' walk from the Palace, and, especially, since recent improved facilities of access by rail—to visit in comfort all the sights and amusements of the town, to dine and go to the play there, and get back home at a reasonable hour. In this way, with a constant going and coming between the Palace and the great metropolis of the British Empire, life in the royal manor is far from stagnating: all that resounds in the world of fashion, politics, literature, and the stage, reaching it with surprising rapidity, and awakening responsive echoes in the breasts of both young and old. Thus, it is the last place, which one would select to vegetate in; nor is its intellectual and social atmosphere at all comparable to that of a cathedral close, to which it has been inaptly compared. On the contrary, its tone is, on the whole, decidedly modern and cosmopolitan, rather than provincial, the variety in the experiences of its inhabitants, and their diversities of opinions in religion and politics, compelling a toleration, which would never be suffered for a moment by the parson and the squire of the typical English village, and would stir to the depths even the ordinary quiet country town.

In one thing only is its society old-fashioned: it is in this, that birth and breeding, simplicity and dignity of life, and devoted service to the State, have always been held of more account, and in greater esteem, at Hampton Court, than the most ostentatious displays of prosperous vulgarity, or the most successful careers in stock-jobbing or beer-selling—a

peculiarity in which, we apprehend, the old Palace is wofully far from being abreast of the much-extolled plutocratic tendencies of the age.

Paramount, however, above all the more modern attractions of Hampton Court, are still, of course, those of the old historic building itself, suffused and penetrated, as it is, with the romance and poetry of the past; and those, too, of the parks and gardens, which encompass it around, with all their amenities of nature and art. On the appearance of the Palace, and on its richness in historic associations, it would be superfluous to dilate any further, after expatiating on this theme in some twelve hundred pages. Nor need we say anything of the State Rooms, which are open to inspection six days in the week, which can always be reached under cover, and which, on a wet day, afford not only the fascinating diversion of a varied and interesting collection of pictures, but also a delightful promenade.

But of the parks and gardens, at the present day, we must say something here—though no words of ours can convey any adequate conception of their enchanting beauty in the early summer. It is then, that the ancestral hawthorns, which thickly stud the whole 1,080 acres of the area of Bushey Park, are in full flower, and the air scented by the sweet odour of the blossoms of the lime-trees, which compose the quadruple aisles, as it were—each fourteen yards wide, from row to row—of the great avenue down the centre of the Park, fifty-six yards wide, and a mile and forty yards long, its centre, or nave, being flanked by stately horse-chestnuts, which, when themselves in full blossom, about the middle of May, present an appearance of unrivalled splendour. Their wide, low, sweeping branches are then laden with myriads of spiked white flowers, tinged with red, to which the massy, dark-green piles of foliage serve as an admirable back-

ground; and which, falling, powder and bespangle the turf below with countless stars. The sight of this magnificent chestnut avenue, in all the pride of its growth, and the full glory of its bloom, usually draws thousands of visitors from London and the neighbourhood; and the Sunday when it is

The Home Park.

at its zenith, is called "Chestnut Sunday," and is announced beforehand in the newspapers.

It is at the same time that the Home Park, of 752 acres, is also at its prime, and offers a picture of surpassing loveliness and delight. For the great avenues, that border the Long Canal, and bend the graceful amplitude of their lower branches, arch-like, towards the water; as well as the side

avenues, that stretch away in long divergent vistas—"living galleries of ancient trees"—are composed of limes, every separate twig of which carries its fragrant blossom; so that the air, far around, is pervaded with the intensest perfume, and filled with the murmuring music of innumerable bees.

At such a time, it is indeed an exquisite pleasure to stroll over the fresh green velvet turf; to wander beneath the low-hanging branches, by the side of the long sheet of water, whose placid surface, whereon "broad water-lilies lie tremulously," is broken only by the plash of some sluggish carp; to watch a herd of deer, browsing peacefully amid the ferns, or gracefully gliding beneath the cool shade of the trees; to come, perhaps, upon one solitary fawn, drinking at the water's edge, which bounds, startled, away, at the sound of an approaching step: all this combines to form a picture of stately grandeur and repose, which endues this park with an indefinable fascination and a poetic beauty, entirely its own.

The gardens of Hampton Court, also, have a captivating charm peculiar to themselves, chiefly derived from so much of their original formal trimness, and their old-fashioned air, as they are still permitted to retain. They have, however, suffered—especially the Great Fountain or Public Garden—at various times recently, by attempts to follow the fluctuating follies of successive fashions in gardening, so that their archaic aspect has been unduly encroached upon, by efforts to vie with the costly pretentiousness of the modern style. This is to be regretted, not only on the score of unnecessary expense, but also because it is positively incongruous in a place like Hampton Court, where, the more the original arrangement is preserved, and the more it harmonizes with the conformation of the grounds and their antique and picturesque surroundings, the greater is the benefit to the character of the place. To this we believe Mr. Graham, the

present superintendent, is fully alive; and he has already taken some steps towards rectifying previous mistakes.

Visitors, in fact, to Hampton Court Gardens, whether amateurs of antiquity, or intelligent working men, do not look for, nor wish, nor care to find an imitation of the profusion of blossom and the gorgeousness of colour, that blaze in the flower-beds of Hyde Park. It is on this account, probably, that so many excursionists of all classes always express their strong and decided preference for the Private Gardens—as they are called, though they are open to the public—which are much more unaltered than the others, and in which very little bedding-out is attempted: though a truly delightful effect is produced by the number of old-fashioned English shrubs and plants, which are arranged and disposed in the ancient style. These gardens retain, indeed, more, perhaps, of the form and spirit of former days than any others in England, the grounds being laid out in a way suited to the variability of our climate: for winter, walled parterres and sheltered alleys; for summer, grassy banks and plots, shady bowers and nooks, refreshing fountains, and flowery arbours—all of which give it an air of repose and seclusion, and an irresistible charm, entirely unattainable by the most lavish expenditure and display of modern horticultural art.

To see them in all their beauty, one should visit them on some sunny morning, towards the latter end of the month of May, when all the flowers are just budding forth, and all the shrubs are in bloom. Standing on the terrace, or looking from the windows of the Palace, nothing could be then more enchanting than the scene. On either side are the fresh grassy slopes of the two terraces; and between them are three vistas or alleys extending to the Thames—the centre one a shady walk entirely canopied by over-arching boughs of "tressy yew," amid which is just seen

the picturesque old fountain; and the two others carpeted with turf, edged with brilliant masses of candy-tuft and alyssum, and embanked with the blossom of lilac, laburnum, laurestina, and cyringa. A pretty effect is produced by one alley being bordered with candy-tuft, so that it forms a long line of white, and by the other alley being bordered with alyssum, so as to make a similar line of brilliant yellow. The graceful statue of a girl with flowers in her lap, most appropriately placed a few years ago on the old stone pedestal in the left alley, irresistibly reminds us of the lines:

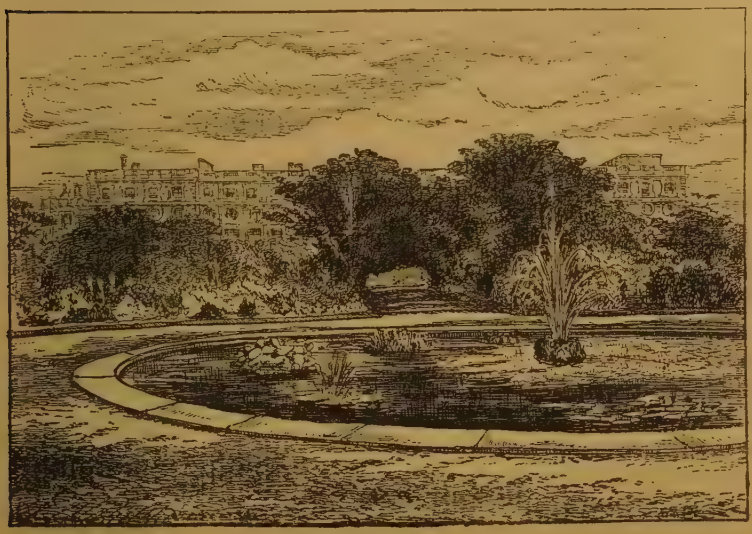
> Now the bright morning star, day's harbinger,
> Comes dancing from the East, and leads with her
> The flowery May, who from her green lap throws
> The yellow cowslip, and the pale primrose.

From the terrace one should stroll beneath the dark-green branches of the yew-trees, or along the ever-verdant grass walks, to the fountain that plashes gently in the middle of the parterre; and thence returning, through the leafy arcade of Queen Mary's Bower—a "dappled path of mingled light and shade"—pass to the old "Pond Garden," which remains very much as it did, when Henry VIII. strolled therein with Anne Boleyn; and where, in the midst of a walled enclosure, surrounded with flowering creepers of all sorts, an old fountain trickles in front of a picturesque arbour. This is indeed a spot of the daintiest and rarest beauty, the product of nigh four centuries of care and time, which no expenditure of money or art could possibly create.

But even the Public Gardens have still some elements of this kind, which go to intensify a beauty chiefly derived from delightful groves of lime; shelving banks of grass; winding streams with floating water-lilies; wide, level lawns; long, soft walks of velvet turf; evergreen trees of many-toned verdure; dark-boughed yews and variegated

hollies; walls with clustering roses and creepers; and borders rich with masses of sweet and lovely flowers. All these cover an expanse of thirty acres; while eleven more—called "the Wilderness," in which is the Maze—form a pleasant and shady retreat of winding walks, overshadowed by the foliage of ancient trees.

To appreciate, however, the full fascination of the gardens



The Privy Garden.

of Hampton Court, they should be seen and enjoyed in all circumstances; at all times of the year; and at every hour of the day—in early spring, when the tender leaves of the limes contrast with the sombre tints of the yews; when the lawns are dressed in the dazzling brightness of fresh green, and the borders lined with crocuses, tulips, and hyacinths; in the early summer, when the lilacs, laburnums, cyringas,

wisterias, and lime-trees are flinging their mingled fragrance on the air; and in the height of the summer, when all the flower-beds are ablaze with splendour, and the fountain is joyously spouting its streaming showers, which flash like diamonds in the beams of the golden sun, and then melt into vaporous spray, on which dance miniature rainbows. They should be seen even in winter, when the boughs of the yew-trees and hollies are spangled with hoar-frost, or enwreathed with snow; and when the red walls of the old palace, fringed here and there, at "coigns of vantage," with intercepted flakes, stand out, glowing with an unwonted ruddiness, amid the dazzling whiteness of the surrounding scene.

They should be seen in the freshness of the dewy morning: in the stillness of the midnight hour: when the Long Canal gleams like a sheet of silver in the moonlight, slanting down the avenue; and when nought is heard but the nightingales' distant music, floating across the river from the hedgerows, where they sing embowered. There could, indeed, be no more enchanting scene, than is then afforded from the upper windows of the Palace, whence the gardens are viewed lying beneath, dimmed in a silvery mist; while, far away, beyond garden, park, and river, the eye can wander over a glimmering expanse, reaching to the Surrey hills.

It is at night that the Palace, also, is invested with its most romantic garb. Few things, in truth, could be more impressive than the solemn stillness that then pervades the spot, which, but a few hours before, echoed to the sound of thousands of voices and the tramp of thousands of feet; and it would be difficult to match the exquisite beauty of the picturesque old courts, gables, towers, and turrets, when their broken outline stands out against a sky, bathed in the radiance of the rising moon; or the poetic aspect of the Fountain Court, when the moonbeams shoot down upon the

water of the circular fountain in its midst, glitter on the panes of the old windows, or mingle with the lights that blink and flicker through the arches of the arcade beneath; while all night through the sound of the cool trickle of the fountain soothes the ear.

Elsewhere, in the courts and cloisters of the vast building, not a sound: only the measured tread of the sentry, as he paces up and down in front of Wolsey's gate; or the clank of the keys, and the groan of the hinge of the old oak door, as the watchman, on his rounds, vanishes with his lantern, into the gloom of the Hall or the Haunted Gallery.

It is at such times that a thousand stirring thoughts rush in upon the mind, a thousand swelling feelings fill the heart —thoughts of the moving scenes these walls have witnessed, of the thrilling deeds which have been done, upon the very spot whereon we stand. And contemplating the visionary pageant of the past, unfolded to the mental view, as the centuries roll by before us, and succeeding generations of the mighty dead step forth to play their transitory part, and disappear, we are drawn to dwell on memories of our own brief time; of happy days gone by for ever; of sweet loved faces passed away; of tender hearts that throb no longer; of gentle voices silent ever more.

And yet, while musing thus, and feeling how short is history, and how fleeting time; how soon the present fades away into the past—there often comes upon us a sense of permanence in change; a thought that, as around us so much still endures unchanged, all things, that have been and will be, are indissolubly linked with what succeeds; and that time itself is but the ever-varying aspect of eternal things.

And herein lies the deep significance of such a story as we have endeavoured in these volumes to set forth; and

the high function that, we trust, this antique pile of Hampton Court may long continue to discharge.

And there is yet another aspect in which we may regard it; for it stands to-day, consecrated by antiquity, as an emblem and monument of English history, combining the picturesque and romantic elements of an ancient monarchy, with the priceless boon of popular freedom; linking together the honour and prosperity of the Royal House, with the progress and happiness of the toiling multitude; standing, too, as a symbol, palpable and tangible, of that tender attachment between Queen and people, which has distinguished the reign of Victoria among those of all other sovereigns of England; and which inspired the gracious act of freely opening to all her subjects, the beautiful home of her ancestors at Hampton Court.

THE END.

APPENDICES

AND

INDEX

TO THE THREE VOLUMES.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACT FROM AN ACCOUNT FOR WORKS IN THE GARDENS AT HAMPTON COURT IN THE AUTUMN OF THE YEAR 1699. (*Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 14.)

(See page 72.)

	£	s.	d.
To lay all y^e^ leaden pipes to the Fountaines . .	987	14	0
To pave the Fountaines & the ffoundac̃ons with bricks	916	6	3
To build a wall, next y^e^ Wilderness, to answere that on the East side of y^e^ Terras in y^e^ Gallery Garden, with y^e^ Mason's work	1721	9	8
To make 4 Flights of Stepps in y^e^ said Garden, with the Mason's work, & to Coap y^e^ wall there with stone	832	16	2
To make a gravell walk in y^e^ Privy Garden, & finish y^e^ water-gallery garden	500	0	0
Worke to be performed in y^e^ Wilderness to y^e^ value of	200	0	0
To make prepairac̃ons for planting in y^e^ Parkes .	225	0	0

APPENDIX B.

Extract from an Account for Works in Bushey Park in the years 1699-1700. (*Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 14.)

(See pages 78 and 79.)

Severall works done & performed for his Ma^ts^ service in Bushy Parke by Henry Wise, Gardener.

For 30233 solid yards of gravell, laid in the Great Avenue in Bushy Park, in the 60 ft walk, and without the gate to the wall of y^e^ Wilderness, the charge of ranging out the lynes, prepairing and making the said 60 foot walk, fitt to receive the said gravell, also to levell & prepaire, on each side of the gravell-walk, a division of 20 feet wide, the whole wydth being 100 ft, all being wraught to a levell & included into y^e^ charge of the Gravell, at 2^s^ per solid yard being dugg, carted & spread with y^e^ charge of wheelbarrows stakes etc £3,025. 6. 0.

In the digging and sinking the Bason of 400 ft Diameter and 5 ft deep are contained 21,005 solid yards, the charge of digging and carting it into the low grounds between the Lyme trees and other low places with y^e^ charge of working and levelling the grounds & sowing it with hay seed all workes being contained in y^e^ removing it w^th^ all charges defrayed as above said at 12^d^ per solid yard £1050. 5. 0.

For 3256 superfitiall yards of Turffe round the Bason, in a division of 22 foot wide; the charge of prepaireing the Ground to receive it paying and defraying all charges at 4^d^ p. y^d^. £54. 5. 0.

For planting in the Lynes, in the Great Avenue, leading from the gate by M^r^ Progers to the Gate by y^e^ Wilderness, and round the circle 274 large horse Chesnutt trees; and in the 4 Lynes that leads from y^e^ bason to Hampton, and from the Bason to the Paddy course, and to make good some among y^e^ Lymes that were dead, in all 458 large Lyme trees, w^ch^ together make 732 trees; the charge of carting them to the place, ranging out the Lynes, digging the holes 10 ft wide, and 2 ft & ½ deep, Carting to each tree, one with another, two loads of good fresh earth, planting the trees and afterwards mulching them with ffern, the whole charges defrayed at 6^d^ p. tree £219. 12. 0.

APPENDIX C.

"AN ESTIMATE OF SEVERALL WORKES TO BE DONE AT HAMPTON COURT." DATED NOV. 28TH, 1699. SUBMITTED BY WILLIAM TALMAN. (*Treasury Papers*, vol. lxv., No. 1.)

(See page 97.)

In the Communication Gallery & y^e Eating Room at y^e Ende of it.

	£	s.	d.
For 741 y^ds of right wainscote at 10^d p. y^d.	370	10	0
For 352 squares of y^e plate glasse w^th putty at 10^s 6^d p. y^d.	184	16	0
For weights, lynes & pullys for 13 sash windows.	13	0	0
For iron hold-fasts to fasten the wainscott	2	0	0
For 8 paire of large hinges	4	0	0
For 2 marble Chimney pieces	40	0	0
For Carving 250 foot of cornice	37	0	0
For takeing out y^e old glass that is in y^e sashes & laying it up in the stores	0	10	0
For pointing 352 lights of sashes on both sides at 3^d p. light	4	8	0
For carpenters work & materialls in two doorwaies	3	0	0
For a marble Bason in y^e Eating Room w^th pipes & brass cock	20	0	0
	679	4	0

In y^e K^s. Backstaires & y^e Backstaires to y^e Commu^ion Gall^ry.

	£	s.	d.
For 185 y^ds of right Wainscott at 10^d p y^d	92	10	0
For 200 foot of hand raile at 2^d p. ft	20	0	0
For iron holdfasts	1	0	0
	£113	10	0

To fitt up part of y^e^ old Lodgings for y^e^ Archbishop of Canterbury & the Lord President.

	£	s.	d.
To alter the old wainscott	3	0	0
To brick up one doorway	1	0	0
For 581 y^ds^ of painting old wainscott at 10^s^ p. y^d^. .	24	4	2
For whiteing y^e^ old staircase & rendring the walls .	2	0	0

In y^e^ Gallery Room from y^e^ Q^s^ great Stair Case to y^e^ old guard Chamber, in that y^e^ King may goe to Chapel.

	£	s.	d.
For 21 sq^r^ of boarding & fferring the floors at 45^s^ p sq	47	5	0
For 21 sq firring y^e^ Cieling & a new Cieling at 21^s^ p. sq^r^	22	10	0
For 621 y^ds^ of Whiteing, sizing & colouring at 2^d^ p. y^d^.	5	5	2

To be done in all the Lodgings over the Queen's great Staires, Guard Chamber, Presence Chamber, and to finish 3 pair of Stone Staires & severall Roomes as you go up those Staires.

For 60 Squ^r^ of boarding the floor at 30^s^ p. 1 q^r^ . .	£90	0	0
For hearths, foot-paces, & cornice stones for 27 Chimneys at 25^s^ each	£23	10	0
For 18167 y^ds^ of Deale Wainscott & painting at 6^s^ .	£554	16	0
For 390 y^ds^ of right Wainscott[1] indoores & Shutter windows at 10^s^ p yard	£195	0	0
For 280 ft. of Sashes	£28	16	0
For weights Lynes & Pulleys	£2	0	0
For 280 ft of Crowne glass	£21	0	0

For a pair of Staires of wood out of y^e^ Guard Chamber up to y^e^ Lodgings 30 ft high w^th^ stepps, railes, and ballisters and half paces, £40. 0. 0.

[1] Right wainscot is the term always used for oak panelling.

In the Green Court, part of which must be done that y^e King's coach may come well into the ffountaine Court, y^e whole is as followeth, viz^t

For 410 y^ds of square paveing at 4^s 6^d p. y^d. . .	£92	5	0
For 2350 y^ds of Ragg paveing	£235	0	0
For 2760 y^ds levelling & Carting of Earth at 3^d . .	34	10	0
For 350 ft. of brick Draine with Digging at 2^s 6^d .	43	15	0

In the Fountain Court

For 465 y^ds of square paveing at 4^s. 6. . . .	£104	12	6
For 847 y^ds of Ragg paveing at 2^s	84	14	0
For 1312 y^ds levelling y^e ground & carting of Earth at 3^d	£16	8	0

APPENDIX D.

EXTRACTS FROM A "MEMORIAL OF WORKS TO BE DONE IN THE GARDENS OF HAMPTON COURT." SUBMITTED BY WILLIAM TALMAN ON DEC. 19TH, 1699. (*Treasury Papers*, vol. lxvii., No. 2.)

(See pages 105-108.)

For 1060 ft superficiall of Circular Derbyshire marble in the Coaping of the Great Fountain at 8^s p. ft. £422. 0. 0 (abated £106).

To remove & new plant 403 Large Lyme trees y^e dimensions of their girt from 4 ft 6 in to 3 ft, the charge of taking up these trees, bringing them to the place, digging holes of 10 or 12 ft diameter, Carting 5 Loades of Earth to each tree one with another w^th all charges at 10^s p. tree. £201. 10. 0.

100 Trees to digg 20 ft round them & to take out y^e gravell & Sand & raise their Roots & putt in 5 Loads of Earth to each tree at 8^s. p. tree £140 0. 0 etc.

Two Return Walls in y^e Fountain Garden being 742 feet long.[1]

[1] This is the exact length of the north and south boundaries of the railings from the semicircle to the garden.

	£	s.	d.
For 80 Rodds of Brickwork at 6^{d} p. Rodd . .	480	0	0
For 1442 ft of Iron Railes to be done on both sides the Fountaine Garden, cont. 172 pannells wth 45½ tun. 4 cwts. 0 qrs. 6 at 5^{d} p. lib. . . .	2132	16	0
Painting the said Iron Work ab^{t}	100	0	0
For 3500 Cubicall feet of Portland stone in the coaping for y^{e} said Iron Worke to stand in at 2^{s} 6^{d} p ft	437	10	0
Workmanship of 7000 ft superficiall for the same at 18^{d} p ft.	525	0	0
	3675	6	0

Works in the Gardens being Extraordinarys.

The walk parrallel to y^{e} House that lyeth between y^{e} Fountaine Garden & the Building, sinking & carrying away all the ground to y^{e} Levell of the floor by y^{e} Building, make, 10475 sollid y^{ds} being sunk & carryed off at twice as first was sunk & carried off 2097 solid y^{ds} to lay y^{e} ground to the Levell of the Great Fountain garden afterwards to the floor of y^{e} Levell of the Building & one foot under, for to allow a ft thick of gravell, both which sinkings come to 10474 solid y^{ds}. The charges of carting it to y^{e} lower end next y^{e} Thames to raise all that lowe ground to y^{e} levell of y^{e} floor of the Building, sorting it & spreading it sinking it to its true levells & into its severall Divisions, as a walk for gravell, 2 verges for grass & a border all workes being included in it at 15^{d} p solid y^{d} most of it being pickaxe work £654 13. 0. (In the margin there is a note :— "It appears to be 7252 yards as now altered and the total accordingly diminished by £ ? .")

To prepaire the ground & lay it with turffe in the two verges that are on the sides of the gravell walk being 4786 superficiall y^{ds} with y^{e} charge of y^{e} turffe & all other charges of cutting carting wheeling & laying at 4^{d} p. y^{d}. . . . . £79. 16. 0.

To lay this walk with gravell y^{e} length of y^{e} lymes w^{ch} is 2264 ft long 39 ft wide & 1 ft thick halfe course halfe skreened will take up 3270 solid y^{ds} at 3^{d} p y^{d}. £490. 10. 0.

More Extraordrys in yr Gardens, the 2 Divisions wch lye on each side of yr Circular Garden parallel to yr Walk.

To work & make all ye severall borders that are to be made for the use of planting ye fine shap'd evergreens in with fine earth & good rotten dung wch to make 6 ft wide and 3 ft deep will containe 2835 solid yards at 18d p yd . . . . . £210. 0. 0.

To levell & work the 2 divisions which the great lyme trees are in being 4112 superficiall yds at 2d p yd . . . £34. 5. 0.

Other items are for laying "6209 superficiall yards with turff," for laying coats of "rough gravell," "fine skreen'd gravell & land in all the walks & alleys"; "to plant all the borders with box—£33. 5. 10."

To make a pedestall of Portland Stone for a Diana in brass to stand on being 3 ft 6 in. high and 2 ft 6 in. square; & 4 pannells, each to be carved wth Emblems will come to £20; & to do ye same in marble will come to abt £60—

APPENDIX E.

Works in the Privy Gardens in 1700. (*Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxv., No. 6.)

(See page 148.)

To Sinke and Wheele of Rubbish yt ye Terrasses will receive to lengthen them and Raise them to their height 4528 solid yards; ye charges of wheeleing it to ye place with ye charges of spreading and Ramming it at 10d p. yard is .	188 : 13 : 04
To Sinke and Cart away near ye distance yt ye Last was Carted 16751 Solid yards of Rubbish with all charges at 12d p. yard is . . .	837 : 11 : 00
The Charges of takeing up all ye Plants & Lynes of Box, putting them in Basketts with ye charges of ye Basketts, Carryeing them into ye Wilderness and Planting them there till Such time as ye ground is made, new gravelling and makeing all ye Walkes, Turfeing all ye Verges, Quarters, Walkes and Sloopes with ye Charges of ye new Earth and gravell yt must be carted some distance with all charges of makeing and compleating may come to	400 : 00 : 00
Totall	£1426 : 04 : 04

APPENDIX F.

The Organ in the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace.

In addition to the information given in the text, we may refer our readers to an account of the organ, as it was in 1855, in Hopkins and Rimbault's "History of the Organ." Its present state is shown in the table below :—

Great Organ.

Bourdon (wood)	16 ft.
Open Diapason	8 ft.
Stopped Diapason	8 ft.
Principal	4 ft.
Flute (Nason)	4 ft.
Twelfth	2⅔ ft.
Fifteenth	2 ft.
Sesquialtera	3 ranks.
Trumpet	8 ft.

Choir Organ.

Stopped Diapason	8 ft.
Dulciana	8 ft.
Gedact	8 ft.
Flute	4 ft.
Principal	4 ft.
Cremona	8 ft.

Swell Organ.

Bourdon	16 ft.
Open Diapason	8 ft.
Stopped Diapason	8 ft.
Flute	4 ft.
Principal	4 ft.
Fifteenth	2 ft.
Oboe	8 ft.
Horn	8 ft.
Vox humana	16 ft.

Pedal Organ.

Open Diapason	16 ft.

Couplers.

Swell to Great.
Swell to Choir.
Great to Pedals.
Choir to Pedals.
Pedal octave.

Compass.

Swell.—Tenor C to F^3 in alt.
Great.—CC to F^3 in alt.
Choir.—CC to E^3 in alt.
Pedals.—CCC to Tenor F.

APPENDIX G.

List of Private Apartments in Hampton Court Palace, with their Occupants, from the Accession of George III. in 1760, to the end of the Year 1890.

The warrants were and are issued and signed by the Lord Chamberlain of the Household for the time being. They were, in the reign of George III. :—William, Duke of Devonshire, 1760; George, Duke of Marlborough, Nov. 22nd, 1762; Granville Leveson, Earl Gower, April 22nd, 1763; William Henry Cavendish, Duke of Portland, July 10th, 1765; Francis Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Dec. 4th, 1766; George, Duke of Manchester, April 10th, 1782; Francis Seymour, Earl of Hertford, *again*, April 9th, 1783; James, 7th Earl, afterwards Marquess of Salisbury, Dec. 26th, 1783; George, Earl of Dartmouth, May 14th, 1804; Francis, Marquess of Hertford, *again*, March 5th, 1812. In the reign of George IV. they were :—James, Duke of Montrose, Dec. 11th, 1821; William Spencer, Duke of Devonshire, May 5th, 1827; James, Duke of Montrose, *again*, Feb. 18th, 1828. In the reign of William IV. :—George Child Villiers, Earl of Jersey, July 24th, 1830; William Spencer, Duke of Devonshire, *again*, Nov. 22nd, 1830; George, Earl of Jersey, *again*, Dec. 15th, 1834; Richard, Marquess Wellesley, April, 1835; Francis-Nathaniel, Marquess Conyngham, May, 1835. In the reign of Queen Victoria they have been :—Henry Paget, Earl of Uxbridge, May 6th, 1839; George John Sackville, Earl Delawarr, Sept. 14th, 1841; Frederick, Earl Spencer, July 8th, 1846; John Campbell, Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T., Sept. 4th, 1848; Brownlow, Marquess of Exeter, K.G., Feb. 27th, 1852; John Campbell, Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T., *again*, Jan. 15th, 1853; George John, Earl Delawarr, *again*, Feb. 26th, 1858; John Robert, Viscount Sydney, June 23rd, 1859; Orlando George Charles, Earl of Bradford, July 10th, 1866; John Robert, Viscount Sydney, G.C.B., *again*, Dec. 9th, 1868; Francis Hugh George, Marquess of

Hertford, March 2nd, 1874; William Henry, Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, May 7th, 1879; Valentine Augustus, Earl of Kenmare, K.P., May 3rd, 1880; Edward, Earl of Lathom, June 27th, 1885; Valentine Augustus, Earl of Kenmare, K.P., *again*, Feb. 10th, 1886; Edward, Earl of Lathom, *again*, Aug. 5th, 1886.

The warrants were addressed to the Lady Housekeepers or their deputies, who were:—Mrs. Elizabeth Mostyn; Mrs. Mary Keete; Lady Anne Cecil, 22nd April, 1803; Lady Elizabeth Seymour, and Lady Emily Montague, the last lady who held the office at Hampton Court. The post of "Housekeeper," with its fees or salary of some £800, was almost a complete sinecure, and was abolished at the beginning of the Queen's reign, on Lady Emily Montague's death.

At the beginning of George III.'s reign, as we have stated in the body of this work, rooms were sometimes granted simply by letters. Afterwards warrants were made out, the form of which, in use till about 1782, was as follows:—

These are to require you to deliver to Sir Robert Hamilton, Bart., the Keys and Possession of the Apartments in the Outer Lodging of Hampton Court Palace, which, when the Court was there, were used by Their Royal Highnesses The Princesses Amelia and Caroline. Also to deliver to the said Sir Robert Hamilton the Keys and Possession of the Garrets immediately over, and of Three Rooms under the said Apartments, the whole to be held by him till further Order. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand this 26th Day of April, 1775. In the Fifteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

HERTFORD.

To Mrs. Anderson, Under-Housekeeper of His Majesty's Palace of Hampton Court.

The warrant in use after was in a similar form, but with a proviso, as we have shown in the body of this history,[1] making it incumbent on the holder to inhabit the "lodgings" a part of every year, and to hand the key to the housekeeper when he or she was absent.

[1] See p. 310.

Suite I.—The Lady Housekeeper's Lodgings, now occupied by H.R.H. Princess Frederica of Hanover.

(South-west Wing of the West Front.)

MRS. ANNE MOSTYN.

Died in 1759.

MRS. ELIZABETH MOSTYN. Housekeeper in 1758.

MRS. MARY KEETE. Housekeeper in 1785.

(?) Sister of the Rev. John Keete, Rector of Hatfield, and aunt of James, 7th Earl and 1st Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Chamberlain from Dec., 1783, to May, 1804.

LADY ANNE CECIL. Housekeeper, 22nd April, 1803.

Daughter of James, 6th Earl of Salisbury, by Elizabeth, sister of the Rev. John Keete, Rector of Hatfield.

LADY ELIZABETH SEYMOUR. Housekeeper.

Fifth daughter of Francis, Earl and 1st Marquess of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain in 1812. She died in 1825.

LADY EMILY MONTAGUE. Housekeeper, 8th April, 1825.

Third daughter of George, 4th Duke of Manchester, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Dashwood, Bart., of Northbrook and Kirtlington. Lady Emily died on 21st April, 1838. She was the last lady who held the old appointment of Housekeeper of Hampton Court Palace, with its salary of £250, and its fees, which made it worth some £800 a year (see *ante*, p. 350).

LADY EMILY PONSONBY. 30th April, 1838.

Second daughter of Henry, 3rd Earl of Bathurst, K.G., successively President of the Board of Trade, Secretary of War, and Colonies, and President of the Council in the Duke of Wellington's administration, by his wife Georgina, third daughter of Lord George Henry Lennox. Lady Emily married, on the 16th of March, 1825, Major-General the Hon. Sir Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby, K.C.B., son of Frederick, 3rd Earl of Bessborough. Sir Frederick died 11th Jan., 1837; and Lady Emily on 1st Feb., 1877. Her eldest son is General the Right Hon. Sir Henry Ponsonby, G.C.B., Private Secretary to Her Majesty the Queen.

MRS. HUGH CAMPBELL. 1877.

Lucy Eleanor, daughter of Major Archer, of Hill House, Hampton, and great granddaughter of Mrs. Lucy Wright, who occupied Suite XII. She

married in Sept., 1868, Captain Hugh Campbell, R.N., brother of Mrs. Rowley Lambert, who now has Suite XLIV. He died in 1877. She vacated the apartments on her marriage on 3rd July, 1880, with Mr. Edward Stanley Handcock, son of the Hon. Robert Handcock, and died May 12th, 1882.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS FREDERICA OF HANOVER. 1880.

Princess Frederica-Sophia-Maria-Henrietta-Amelia-Theresa, daughter of His Majesty the late King of Hanover, 2nd Duke of Cumberland, K.G., by his wife, Princess Mary-Alexandrina, eldest daughter of Joseph, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg. Princess Frederica was born 9th Jan., 1848 ; and married 24th April, 1880, at Windsor Castle, Luitbert Alexander George Lionel Alphonse, Freiherr von Pawel Rammingen, who was born 27th July, 1843, K.C.B., K.H., Officer of the Hanoverian Ernest Augustus Order, Officer of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Brunswick Henry the Lion's Order, medal of Langensalza. Their daughter, Victoria-Georgina-Beatrice-Maude-Anne, who was born in these apartments, 7th March, 1881, unfortunately died three weeks after. (See *ante*, p. 382.)

Suite II.—Secretary at War's Lodging.

(South side of the West Front.)

GENERAL AND LADY SOPHIA THOMAS. 18th May, 1766.

Lady Sophia Keppel, daughter of Arnold Joost, 1st Earl of Albemarle ; married General John, brother of Sir Edward, Thomas, Bart., of Wenvoe. They seem to have had apartments here as early as Oct. 1748. (See Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vol. ii., p. 132.) Their son, Col. Charles Nassau, was Vice-Chamberlain to George IV. when Prince Regent, and died unmarried in 1820.

MRS. ELIZABETH MALLET SEYMOUR. 11th April, 1818, and 12th May, 1820.

Wife of the following.

COL. SIR HORACE BEAUCHAMP-SEYMOUR, K.C.H. 31st Jan., 1827.

Younger brother of Sir George Seymour (see Suite IV.). He was born in 1791, and married, 16th May, 1818, first, Elizabeth Mallet, daughter of Sir Lawrence Palk, 2nd Bart., by whom he had, Frederick Beauchamp Paget

Seymour, now Lord Alcester (see *ante*, p. 331); Colonel Charles, killed at Inkermann; and Adelaide, afterwards Countess Spencer. Mrs. Seymour died 18th Jan., 1827. Captain Seymour was knighted K.C.H. by William IV., and married, secondly, in 1835, Frances Isabella, Dowager Lady Clinton, daughter of William Stephen Poyntz, of Cowdray, M.P. Sir Horace died on 23rd Nov., 1851.

DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM. 3rd Jan., 1852. (See Suite XXXVI.)

Mary, youngest daughter and co-heiress of John, 1st Marquess of Breadalbane; she married, 13th May, 1819, Richard Plantagenet, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G. He died, 29th July, 1861; and she died, 28th June, 1862.

MRS. R. BURGESS WATSON. July, 1862.

Helen, daughter of J. Bettington, Esq., of Bathampton, co. Somerset; married in 1845, Captain R. Burgess Watson, R.N., C.B., A.D.C., who served with distinction in the first China War, commanding H.M.S. "Brilliant," and being first to scale the walls of Chin-Keang-too, where he was severely wounded. During the Crimean War he commanded a blockading squadron off Finland, and was afterwards sent, during the mutiny, to India, where his health broke down, when he was appointed to Sheerness Dockyard, where he died. Mrs. Watson died in 1878. Her son, Captain Burgess Watson, now commands H.M.S. "Leander."

LADY WALPOLE. 1878. (See *ante*, p. 317.)

Gertrude, youngest daughter of the late General Ford, married, 29th Jan., 1846, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Walpole, K.C.B., who was Dep. Quarter-master Gen. in the Ionian Islands in 1846-56; served with distinction in India, in command of a brigade during the Mutiny; commanded a division at the siege of Lucknow and received the thanks of Parliament; was General Com. in Chief of Chatham Garrison, 1864-66. He died 12th July, 1876.

Suite III.

(North side of the West Front.)

LADY BOWYER. (See Suite X.)

SIR FREDERICK AND LADY EDEN. Jan., 1807.

Sir Frederick Morton, 2nd Baronet, who married, in 1792, Anne, daughter and heiress of James Paul Smith, Esq., of New Bond Street, who died in 1808. He died, 14th Nov., 1809. One of his granddaughters is Mrs. Ward Hunt (see Suite XI.).

MRS. MARY WARE BAMPFIELD. (See Suite X.)

Daughter of John Bampfield, Esq., M.P. for Devon, by Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Francis Ware, Bart., of Hester Combe.

MISS CATHERINE CHESTER. 22nd Oct., 1808. (See Suite X.)

Eldest daughter of William Bagot, Esq., who assumed by Act of Parliament the surname of Chester, brother of the 1st Lord Bagot.

MISS MARY CHESTER. 1815.

Sister of the foregoing. Afterwards married Robert, Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister from 1812 to 1827. She vacated her rooms in Jan., 1824, when they were granted to her sister Louisa (see next). She died in 1846.

MISS LOUISA CHESTER. 23rd Jan., 1824.

MISS ANNE CHESTER. 16th March, 1830.

MISS ELIZABETH CHESTER. 2nd Dec., 1841.

Sisters of the foregoing. Miss Anne died in 1841, and Miss Elizabeth, 12th May, 1851.

DOWAGER VISCOUNTESS HEREFORD. 27th May, 1851. (See XXIX.)

Frances Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir George Cornwall, Bart., married, 12th Dec., 1805, Henry Fleming Lea, 14th Viscount Hereford, who died 31st May, 1843; she died 20th Feb., 1864.

THE LADY LYNDHURST. April, 1864.

Georgiana, daughter of the late Lewis Goldsmith, Esq., married, 5th August, 1837, as his second wife, John Singleton Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, three times Lord Chancellor of England, who died 12th Oct., 1863. Lady Lyndhurst resigned her apartments in 1883.

THE HON. LADY CLIFFORD. 1883.

Josephine Elizabeth, daughter of the late Joseph Anstice, Esq., married, 21st March, 1857, Major-General Hon. Sir Henry Hugh Clifford, V.C., K.C.M.G. and C.B., who served in the Kaffir War, 1852-3, with great distinction; in the Crimea, receiving the Turkish war medal, the V.C., and the Legion of Honour, and the Medjidie; and in the China Expedition, and in command in the Zulu War. He held various appointments at the Horse Guards and was A.D.C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge. He died 12th April, 1883.

Suite IV.

(In the North Wing of the South Front.)

Countess Talbot.

Mary, only daughter and heiress of the Right Hon. Adam de Cardonnel, of Bedhampton Park, co. Southampton, who married, 1733-4, William, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Talbot, Lord Steward of the Household to George III. in 1761. Her husband was made Baron Dynevor in Sept. 1780, that his daughter, Lady Cecil, who had married George Rice, Esq., might succeed to the barony on his death. He died 17th April, 1782.

Countess of Bellamont. 28th June, 1802.

Emily Maria Margaret, daughter of James, 1st Duke of Leinster; married 1st Earl of Bellamont of second creation. She and Mrs. Charles Lock were sisters, and she was thus an aunt of Mrs. Ellice (see Suite XVI.). She died in 1818.

Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Francis Seymour, G.C.B., and Lady Seymour. (See *ante*, pp. 331, 347.) Warrant to Lady Seymour, 12th May, 1820; to her and Sir George jointly and separately, 13th Aug., 1832.

Sir George, who was the eldest son of Lord Hugh Seymour by his wife Horatia, third daughter of James, 2nd Earl Waldegrave (see *ante*, p. 314, and Suite XLVII.), was born 17th Sept., 1787; married, Feb., 1811, Georgiana Mary, daughter of Admiral the Hon. Sir G. C. Berkeley, G.C.B. Sir George, who became an Admiral of the Fleet, after distinguished services in all parts of the world, died 20th Jan., 1870; and Lady Seymour, 20th Aug., 1878. He was father, among other children, of the late Marquess of Hertford, of Lady Harlech, and of Princess Victor Hohenlohe Langenburg, Countes Gleichen; and grandfather of the present Lord Hertford.

The Lady Gifford. 1878.

Frederica Charlotte Berkeley, eldest daughter of the late Lord FitzHardinge by Lady Charlotte Lennox, daughter of 4th Duke of Richmond, born 15th April, 1825; married, 2nd April, 1845, Robert Francis, 2nd Lord Gifford, who died 13th May, 1872. Lady Gifford is the mother of the present Lord Gifford, who received the Victoria Cross for his conspicuous gallantry in the Ashantee War. He also served with distinction in Egypt and South Africa, and was sometime colonial secretary at Gibraltar. Her second son was lost in the "Eurydice," which foundered off the Isle of Wight on 24th March, 1878.

Suite V.—Treasurer's Lodgings.

(In the North Wing of the West Front, held from 1782 till Aug., 1841, with the following apartment, as one.)

VISCOUNT CANTELUPE, AFTERWARDS 2ND EARL DELAWARR. 7th July, 1762.

John, son of 7th Baron and 1st Earl Delawarr, by his first wife Charlotte, daughter of Donagh MacCarthy, Earl of Clancarty. He succeeded his father as 2nd Earl in March, 1766; was a Lieutenant-General in the army, and was appointed Master of the Horse to the Queen in 1776. He married the following lady; and died 22nd Nov., 1777. His sister also had apartments (see Suite IX.).

COUNTESS OF DELAWARR. 24th July, 1782. (See next Suite.)

Mary, daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Wynyard; married, on 31st Jan., 1774, to 2nd Earl Delawarr, the foregoing. She died 27th Oct., 1784.

COUNTESS OF GALLOWAY. 25th Feb., 1785. (See next Suite.)

MR. THOMAS AND MRS. FAUQUIER. Warrants variously dated 1785, 1786, 1791, and 9th Jan., 1826. (See next Suite.)

LADY AUGUSTA PAGET. 5th Aug., 1841. (See Suite X.)

Augusta, second daughter of John, 10th Earl of Westmorland; married, first, in 1804, John, 2nd Lord Boringdon, afterwards Earl of Morley; and secondly, 16th Feb., 1809, the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Paget, G.C.B., second son of Henry, 1st Earl of Uxbridge, by whom she became the mother of, among other children, the Right Hon. Sir Augustus Paget, G.C.B., now Her Majesty's ambassador at Vienna, and formerly at Rome. Sir Arthur died in 1840; and Lady Augusta in 1872.

HON. LADY GORE. 12th Dec., 1872.

Sarah Rachel, daughter of the Hon. James Frazer, of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia; married, 1824, the Hon. Sir Charles Gore, G.C.B., Governor of Chelsea Hospital, who died 4th Sept., 1869. He had been in every battle in the Peninsular War, and had three horses shot under him at Quatre Bras. Lady Gore died 17th Oct., 1880.

REV. PHILIP CAMERON WODEHOUSE. *Chaplain.* (See Suite VIII.)

Third son of Philip, second son of 1st Lord Wodehouse, Chaplain of the Palace from 1869 to 1882; born 22nd Jan., 1837; married Mary, second daughter of the late Rev. Edward Henry Sawbridge, of East Haddon Hall;

and died 16th Dec., 1883. His sister-in-law, Mrs. Edwin Wodehouse, also had apartments (see Suite XXXVIII.).

REV. THOMAS CROSSLEY. *Chaplain*, 1882.

REV. D. LANCASTER MCANALLY. *Chaplain.*

Suite VI.—Cofferer's Lodgings.

(In the North Wing of the West Front. Held from about 1782 to 1841, with the preceding apartment as one.)

VISCOUNT CANTELUPE, AFTERWARDS 2ND EARL DELAWARR. 7th July, 1762. (See preceding Suite.)

COUNTESS DELAWARR. 24th July, 1782. (See preceding Suite.)

COUNTESS OF GALLOWAY. 25th Feb., 1785. (See preceding Suite and Suites VIII. and LI.)

MR. AND MRS. THOMAS FAUQUIER. Various Warrants, dated 1785, 1786, 1791, and 9th Jan., 1826. (See preceding Suite.)

Charlotte, daughter of Edward, fourth son of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend; married, first, 12th May, 1773, to John Norris, Esq., of Whitten, Norfolk; and secondly, in June, 1779, to Thomas Fauquier, Esq. "Mrs. Norris," writes Miss Mary Townshend to George Selwyn, on 9th of June, 1779, "within this week, was married to Mr. Fauquier, whom you may remember to have formerly seen at Holland House, acting and singing catches in their troupe." He held an appointment in the Royal Household, and died in Hampton Court Palace about 1841. See Jesse's *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, vol. iv., pp. 137 and 181.

THE HON. JULIA, LADY PECHELL. 5th Aug., 1841.

Julia Maria, daughter of Robert Edward, 9th Lord Petre, by Juliana, sister of Bernard, 12th Duke of Norfolk. She married 15th April, 1833, Sir S. J. Brooke-Pechell. (See next.) She died 6th Sept., 1844.

ADMIRAL SIR SAMUEL JOHN BROOKE-PECHELL, C.B., 3RD BART. 19th Nov., 1844.

Second son of Sir Thomas Brooke-Pechell, 2nd Bart. (see Suite XVI.), and elder brother of Sir George Richard, 4th Bart. (see Suite X.), by his wife, Charlotte, second daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Clavering by his

wife, Lady Diana West (see Suite V., VI., and IX.). Sir Samuel John married the foregoing, after whose death he was granted a warrant for her apartments, which warrant is marked as being a special exception to the rule that no apartments are now granted to married men or widowers. He died 3rd Nov., 1849.

MARCHIONESS WELLESLEY. 30th Nov., 1849. (See Suite XXI.)

Marianne, daughter of Richard Caton, Esq., of Philadelphia, U.S.A., and widow of Robert Paterson. She married, 29th Oct., 1825, Richard, Marquess Wellesley, K.G., the famous Governor-General of India, and the true consolidator of the British Empire in India, who died 26th Sept., 1842. She died 17th Dec., 1853.

DOWAGER MARCHIONESS OF ELY. 1854.

Anna Maria, daughter of Sir H. W. Dashwood, Bart., married, 1810, John, 2nd Marquess of Ely, who died 26th Sept., 1845. Lady Ely died 6th Sept., 1857. She was a niece of Lady Galloway (see Suite VIII.).

LADY SARAH MAITLAND.

Second daughter of Charles, 4th Duke of Richmond and Lennox, born 22nd Aug., 1792 ; married, 9th Oct., 1815, General Sir Peregrine Maitland, G.C.B., who died 30th May, 1854. She died 8th Sept., 1873. Lady Sarah was present at the famous ball at Brussels the night before Waterloo. Her two sons were wounded severely in the Crimean War.

MRS. CHESNEY. 1873.

Louisa, daughter of Edward Fletcher, Esq., of Corsack, Dumfriesshire, N.B., married Colonel, afterwards General, Francis Rawdon Chesney, R.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., &c. General Chesney surveyed in 1832 the Isthmus of Suez in view of a canal, explored the Euphrates, and subsequently commanded the Euphrates Expedition. He also commanded the troops at Hong Kong from 1843 to 1847, and served in the expedition up the Canton river, and the capture of the Bogue forts. He commanded the troops in the South of Ireland from 1848 to 1851, and was appointed in 1855 to the command of the Foreign Legion then being raised for service in the Crimea, the formation of which, however, was countermanded.

LADY MACPHERSON. 1887.

Maria, daughter of Lieut.-General James Eckford, C.B., married, in 1859, Sir Herbert Macpherson, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C., the distinguished Anglo-Indian general, who served in the Persian War, in the Mutiny with Havelock's column, and who gained the Victoria Cross for his heroic gallantry at Lucknow. His more recent services included the Afghan War, during which he accompanied Sir Frederick Roberts in the march from Cabul to Candahar, in command of the First Brigade, and was present at the battle of Candahar ; and the Egyptian War of 1882, when he commanded the Indian contingent. He died of fever in October, 1886.

Suite VII.—Lord Privy Seal's Lodgings.

(First Floor of North Range in First Court.)

GENERAL AND MRS. STEPHENS. 6th Oct., 1791.

MRS. STEPHENSON.

MR. AND MISS ANNE D. REYNETT. 1815. (See Suite XIII.)

MISS COPLEY. 23rd Sept., 1839.

Elizabeth Mary, daughter of Sir Joseph Copley, Bart., by Cecil, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, first cousin of John James, 1st Marquess of Abercorn, at whose request Miss Hamilton was raised to the rank of an earl's daughter, and whom she married after the death of his first wife. Eight years later her husband divorced her, and the month following she married her divorced husband's first wife's brother, Sir Joseph Copley. Miss Copley was a sister of the late Countess Grey. Her aunt, Lady George Seymour, had Suite XLI. She resigned her apartments on succeeding in 1884 to her brother's estates at Sprotborough, Yorkshire.

MRS. CHARLES BAGOT. 1884.

Mary, second daughter of Major-General Chester; married, 18th Feb., 1846, her cousin, the Rev. Charles Walter Bagot, Chancellor of Bath and Wells, and Rector of Castle Rising, Norfolk. He died 10th Sept., 1884.

Suite VIII.

(Ground Floor of North Range in First Court.)

MR. JAMES ELY. 5th March, 1782.

MRS. HENRIETTA WALKER. 1794.

COUNTESS OF GALLOWAY. (See Suites V., VI., and LI.)

Anne, second daughter of Sir James Dashwood, M.P., of Kirklington; married, in 1764, John, 7th Earl of Galloway, Lord of the Bedchamber to George III. He died 13th Nov., 1806, and she died 8th Jan., 1830. (For her daughters, see next three names.)

LADY CHARLOTTE CROFTON.

Lady Charlotte Stewart, fifth daughter of 7th Earl of Galloway, by the above. She married the Hon. Sir Edward Crofton, Bart., eldest son of Baroness Crofton, and died 1842.

HON. LADY STEWART. 30th May, 1829.

Frances, daughter of the Hon. John Douglas. She married in 1804 the Hon. Sir William Stewart, son of Lady Galloway (see above), and brother of Lady C. Stewart (see above), and a Lieutenant-General in the army, and K.C.B. He died in 1827, and she in 1833.

SUSAN, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH. 7th Aug., 1833.

Second daughter of John, 7th Earl of Galloway, by his wife, Anne Dashwood (see above); married, in 1791, George, 4th Duke of Marlborough, K.G. She died in 1841.

MRS. ALEXANDER ELLICE. 5th Aug., 1841. (See Suite XVI.)

MRS. AND MISS CAROLINE FITZGERALD. 4th Dec., 1841. (See Suite XXXIV.)

Mrs. FitzGerald died 5th May, 1849, and Miss FitzGerald 29th Aug., 1845.

REV. W. P. BAILEY. *Chaplain.*

Fellow of Clare College; Chaplain of the Palace from 1848 to 1865.

HON. AND REV. FRANCIS EDMUND CECIL BYNG. *Chaplain,* 1865.

Third son of George Stevens, 2nd Earl of Strafford, by Lady Agnes Paget, fifth daughter of Henry William, 1st Marquess of Anglesey. Born 15th Jan., 1835; married, first, 8th June, 1859, Florence, seventh daughter of Sir Wm. Miles, Bart., who died 14th Feb., 1862. He was Chaplain of the Palace from 1865 to 1868, and sometime Vicar of St. Peter's, South Kensington, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons. His second wife, whom he married 4th Aug., 1866, is Emily Georgina, eldest daughter of Lord Frederick Kerr, who formerly resided occasionally in the Palace with her grandmother, Lady Sarah Maitland (see Suite VI.).

REV. FREDERICK PONSONBY. *Chaplain,* 1867.

Chaplain of the Palace from 1867 to 1869. Son of Lady Emily Ponsonby (see Suite I.), brother of Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's Private Secretary, and now Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen's, Munster Square, London, N.W.

REV. PHILIP CAMERON WODEHOUSE. *Chaplain,* 1869. (See Suite V.)

VISCOUNTESS MOUNTMORRES.

Harriet, second daughter of the late George Broadrick, Esq., of Hamphall Stubbs, co. York; married Nov., 1862, William Browne, 5th Viscount Mountmorres, who was assassinated in Ireland, 25th Sept., 1880.

Suite IX.—Principal Secretary of State's Lodging.

(First Floor, North-east Angle, First Court.)

LADY AUGUSTUS FITZROY. 24th August, 1765.

Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel William Cosby, Governor of New York, younger son of Alexander Cosby, Esq., of Stradbally Hall, Queen's County. Her mother, who was Grace, sister of George Montague, Earl of Halifax, also had apartments (see Suite XIV.). She married Lord Augustus FitzRoy, younger son of Charles, 2nd Duke of Grafton, K.G., who died 24th May, 1741, and by whom she became the mother of the 3rd Duke of Grafton, Prime Minister under George III. in 1766-8. She married, secondly, James Jeffreys, Esq.

LADY DIANA CLAVERING.

Lady Diana West, younger daughter of John, 7th Lord and 1st Earl Delawarr, sister of Lord Cantelupe, who was in Suites V. and VI., which see. She married General Sir James John Clavering, K.C.B.

MRS. STEVENS.

LADY LAVINGTON. 1810.

Widow of Ralph Payne, Esq. (of the family now Payne-Gallwey), created 1st Oct., 1795, Lord Lavington in the Peerage of Ireland, a dignity which expired with him.

LADY MONTGOMERY. 13th May, 1830.

Sarah Mercer, daughter of Leslie Grove, Esq., of Grove Hall, Donegal, married Sir Henry Conyngham Montgomery, Bart., who greatly distinguished himself in the war against Tippoo Sultan, was afterwards M.P. for three several constituencies. He died 21st Jan., 1830. Lady Montgomery died 8th Dec., 1854. Lady Montgomery's eldest son, Sir Henry, was for many years Member of the Council of India, and was made a P.C. in 1877. Her second son was Admiral Sir Alexander Montgomery; and her fourth, Alfred, Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

LADY WHICHCOTE. 26th June, 1833.

Isabella Eliza, third daughter of the foregoing, married 25th March, 1856, Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart., of Aswarby Park, Lincolnshire. Lady Whichcote's only daughter, Isabella, married in 1875 Brownlow Cecil, Lord Burghley, M.P., eldest son of the Marquess of Exeter.

THE HON. MRS. WILLIAM LAW. 26th June, 1833.

Matilda, second daughter of the same, married in Jan., 1846, the Hon. William Towry Law, youngest son of the 1st Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and brother of the 1st Earl, who filled, among other offices, that of Governor-General of India. Mr. Law was Rector of East Brent and Harborne, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Bath and Wells; but resigned his preferments on being received into the Catholic Church. He died on October 31st, 1886.

Suite X.

(Range between the First Court and Clock Court, south of and including the Clock Tower.)

MRS. BRUDENELL.

Anne, daughter of Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bart., of Parham, Sussex. She was a great beauty, and married, in 1752, the Hon. Robert Brudenell.

ANNE, LADY BOWYER. 21st March, 1768.

Daughter of Sir John Stonehouse, Bart., of Radley, M.P. for Berkshire, and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Anne. She married Sir Wm. Bowyer, Bart.

MRS. CAREY. 18th July, 1786.

MRS. MARY WARE BAMPFIELD. (See Suite III.)

MISS CATHERINE CHESTER. 16th Dec., 1806. (See Suite III.)

MRS. MANN.

LADY HERVEY.

Elizabeth, daughter of Colin Drummond, Esq., married Lord Hervey, R.N., eldest son of the 4th Earl of Bristol, one of whose sisters was first wife of Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister and the other Countess of Erne. (See Suite XXXIX.)

MRS. MARGARET VESEY. 15th Sept., 1818. (See Suites XIV. and XLVII.)

She was sister of Sir James Reynett, who held Suite XLVIII., widow of General Vesey, of the 52nd Regiment, and sister of Miss Reynett, who held Suites VII. and XIII. Her daughter married Col. Rose (see *ante*, p. 359), brother of Lord Strathnairn. She died 31st June, 1859.

LADY AUGUSTA PAGET. 1st July, 1840. (See Suite V.)

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE RICHARD AND THE HON. KATHERINE LADY BROOKE-PECHELL. 5th Aug., 1841.

George Richard, third son of Sir Thomas Pechell (who had Suite XVI.), and brother of Sir Samuel John (who had Suite VI.). He married, 1st Aug., 1826, the Hon. Katherine Annabella Bisshopp, daughter and co-heiress of Cecil, Baron Zouche, and sister of Harriett Anne, Baroness Zouche in her own right. He died 29th June, 1860, and she 29th July, 1871.

LADY CECIL GORDON.

Emily, daughter of Maurice-Crosbie Moore, Esq., of Moresfort, co. Tipperary, married in 1841 Lord Cecil James Gordon, brother of Lord Henry Gordon (see Suite XX.), who died 15th Jan., 1878.

Suite XI.—The Lord Treasurer's Lodgings.

(First Floor of the South Range in the First Court.)

MR. LOWNDES.

See Hannah More's letter, *ante*, pp. 305, 306.

MR. RICHARD STONHEWER. 10th May, 1769? (See *ante*, p. 305.)

He was Secretary to the Duke of Grafton, when Prime Minister, in conjunction with Thomas Bradshaw (see Suites XXXV., XXXVII., and XXXVIII.). He held the office of Auditor of the Excise for about forty years, till his death in 1809. He was a friend of Horace Walpole's, and interested himself in literature and art. The Duke of Grafton has a portrait of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

COLONEL AND MRS. BRADDYLL.

Thomas Richmond Gale Braddyll, Esq., of Highhead Castle, Conishead Priory, &c., Lieut.-Col. Coldstream Guards; born 14th Nov., 1776; married 6th Aug., 1803, Frances, daughter of Charles Bagot Chester. For her cousins, see Suites III. and VII.

MRS. BOEHM. 4th Aug., 1827.

She was the widow of a wealthy West Indian merchant, who was a friend of the Duke and Duchess of York.

LADY MACLEAN. 20th April, 1842.

Daughter of Sir William Congreve, Bart., the inventor of rockets; married General MacLean, R.A., who had been a member of the Irish Parliament in 1800, who in 1832 was appointed to the command of the Artillery in Ireland, and who in 1834 became Commandant at Woolwich, when he was knighted. He died in 1839, and Lady MacLean in 1845.

MISS MACLEAN. 7th Oct., 1845.

Daughter of the foregoing. Miss Julia, Miss Anne, and Miss Caroline MacLean, while each remained unmarried, were to have the joint benefit of the occupation with their sister Margaret; but in the event of her marriage or death, the lodgings were to become vacant and the warrant cancelled. She died in 1880.

MRS. WARD HUNT. July, 1880.

Alice, daughter of the Rt. Rev. Robert Eden, D.D., Bishop of Moray and Ross, and Primus of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, by his wife Emma, third daughter of Sir James Allan Parke, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. Miss Eden married, 5th Dec., 1857, the Right Hon. George Ward Hunt, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Beaconsfield's administration, who died 29th July, 1877. For Mrs. Ward Hunt's grandfather and grandmother, see Suite III.; and for her cousin, Miss Dulcibella Eden, see Suite XIV.

Suite XII.—Lord Chamberlain's Lodgings.

(In the Range on the south of the First Court.)

HON. ANNE GRANVILLE. 4th July, 1764.

She came from Windsor Castle for her health.

HON. ELIZABETH GRANVILLE. 22nd Dec., 1767.

(?) The unmarried daughters of George Granville, 1st Lord Lansdowne by Lady Mary Villiers, daughter of Edward, Earl of Jersey.

LADY FUST.

MRS. LUCY WRIGHT. 1782.

Born 10th Feb., 1751. She was the daughter of Shuckburgh Boughton, of Poston Hall, co. Hereford, by his wife, a daughter of the Hon. Algernon Greville, a famous beauty, who inspired the lines of Pope, which begin: "Greville, whose eyes have power to make, A Pope of any swain." Lucy Boughton married Robert Wright, son of Thomas Wright, Chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Canon of York. Mrs. Lucy Wright was mother of Mrs. Archer, who lived for many years at Hampton Court, and was thus great grandmother of Lucy Archer, afterwards Mrs. Campbell, who had Suite I. Another of her daughters married Lord Templetown.

LADY ISABELLA ST. JOHN. 4th June, 1839.

Isabella Frances, fourth daughter of George Henry, 4th Duke of Grafton, K.G., by his wife Charlotte Maria, daughter of James, 2nd Earl of Waldegrave (see Suite XLVII.). Lady Isabella married Henry Joseph St. John, Esq., who died in 1857; and she died 27th Aug., 1875, aged eighty-three.

MRS. MIDDLETON. 1875.

Harriet Margaret, daughter of Thomas Kavanagh, M.P., of Borris Castle, co. Carlow, and sister of the well-known M.P. She married Colonel Middleton, R.A., C.B., late Deputy Adjutant General at the Horse Guards. She died in 1876, a few months after being granted these apartments.

MISS FANNY MIDDLETON. May, 1876.

Eldest daughter of the foregoing. She married, in 1878, Capt. Maxwell, when the warrant was renewed to her younger sisters.

MISS LOUISE AND GRACE MIDDLETON. 4th July, 1878.

Miss Anna Louise married, in 1884, Evan MacGregor, Esq., C.B., Secretary of the Admiralty, and son of Lady MacGregor (see Suites L. and LI.). Miss Grace in 1889 entered an Anglican sisterhood.

THE MISSES CONOLLY. 24th June, 1889.

Daughters of John Augustus Conolly, V.C., late Lieut.-Col. of the Coldstream Guards.

Suite XIII.

(Ground Floor, south side of Clock Court.)

COMMODORE HON. ROBERT BOYLE WALSINGHAM.

Youngest son of Henry, 1st Earl of Shannon. He took the name of Walsingham on succeeding to that property, and was at one time M.P. for Knaresborough. In 1780 he commanded a squadron sent to the West Indies to reinforce Rodney, and was lost on board H.M.S. "Thunderer," in October of that year. He married 17th July, 1759, Charlotte, second daughter and co-heiress of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, K.B., who after his death bought a property at Thames Ditton, and built Boyle Farm, opposite Hampton Court, where their daughter Charlotte, Baroness de Ros in her own right, subsequently lived.

MRS. MARY BOWATER. 2nd Oct., 1766.

Mary, daughter of Thomas Bailey, Esq., of Derbyshire, and wife of Richard Bowater, of Warwickshire, who died in 1790, and was buried at Hampton. She was the mother of Admiral Bowater, whose wife was Miss Poyntz Lane, and great grandmother of the present Lady Knightley.

MISS BRIDGET BOWATER. 6th Jan., 1789.

Probably the daughter of the above.

HON. MRS. MARGARET WALPOLE. 12th May, 1812.

Margaret, daughter of Robert, 1st Lord Clive; married 11th April, 1788, Lieut.-Colonel Lambert Theodore Walpole, who was killed when in command of a detachment of troops sent to suppress the Irish Rebellion in Wexford in May, 1798. She died in 1814, and was the mother of the two Misses Walpole, who occupied Suite XLIII. for sixty-seven years. See *ante*, p. 315.

COUNTESS OF SEFTON. 3rd June, 1818. (See Suite XLIII.)

Isabella, daughter of William, 2nd Earl of Harrington, by Caroline, eldest daughter of Charles, 2nd Duke of Grafton. She married, 27th Nov., 1768, Charles William, 1st Earl of Sefton, who died 31st Jan., 1795; and died 29th Jan., 1819. She moved from Suite XLIII., which see.

MRS. ELIZABETH MALLET SEYMOUR. (See Suite II.)

MISS GERTRUDE MARY THOMAS. 12th May, 1820.

MISS BARBARA ST. JOHN AND MRS. CHARLOTTE BAINBRIGGE. 27th Oct., 1826.

MISS ANNE D. REYNETT. 23rd Sept., 1839. (See Suite VII.)

Sister of Sir James Reynett (see Suite XLVIII.), and of Mrs. Vesey (see Suite XIV.). She resigned her apartments in 1866.

THE MISSES GORDON. 1867.

Misses Wilhelmina Gertrude Mary, Millicent Theresa, and Augusta Gordon, daughters of the late Lord and Lady Henry Gordon (see Suites XIX. and XX.). Miss Augusta married, first, on 21st July, 1869, Capt. Wm. Gerard Walmesley, 17th Lancers, of Westwood House, co. Lancaster, who died 2nd Jan., 1877; and secondly, 6th Feb., 1879, George Nugent-Ross Wetherall, Esq., late 15th Hussars, of Astley Hall, co. Lancaster. Mrs. Wetherall died 14th May, 1881.

Suite XIV.—"My Lord Cardinal's Lodgings."

(Formerly Cardinal Wolsey's; behind the Colonnade on the south side of the Clock Court, looking into the Pond Garden, see vol. i., p. 48.)

MRS. COSBY. 11th Nov., 1763.

She moved into this apartment from another part of the Palace.

Grace, sister of George Montague, Earl of Halifax, K.B., who married William Cosby, Brigadier-General, Governor of New York and the Jerseys, and who died 10th March, 1737. She died 25th Dec., 1767. Her daughter Elizabeth, who married Lord Augustus FitzRoy, also had apartments at Hampton Court (see Suite IX.).

George Montague, in a letter to Horace Walpole, dated April, 1763, asks him to have some family portraits, presented to him by his aunt Cosby at Hampton Court, packed up and forwarded to Great-North (*Historical Commission*, 8th Report, pt. ii., pp. 116 a and b, Duke of Manchester's Papers). She and her daughter probably owed their rooms to the influence of the Duke of Grafton, or to Lord Halifax, who, as Housekeeper of Hampton Court, must have had powerful patronage.

MRS. BARBARA WRIGHTE. 1787.

LADY FRANCES BERESFORD. 4th Feb., 1829. (See Suite XXXIII.)

Frances Arabella, daughter of Joseph, 1st Earl of Milltown, by his third wife, Elizabeth Ffrench, daughter of the Very Rev. Wm. Ffrench, Dean of Armagh, who survived her daughter two years, dying at the extraordinary age of 105. Lady Frances married, 25th July, 1790, Marcus Beresford, son of the Right Hon. John Beresford. He died 16th Nov., 1797; and she died 9th

May, 1840. Her son, the Right Hon. Wm. Beresford, had Suite XLVI.; another son, John Theophilus, 88th Connaught Rangers, led the forlorn hope at Ciudad Rodrigo, 1812, and was killed by the springing of a mine, under the breach, by the French. There is a tablet to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

MRS. MARGARET VESEY. 22nd May, 1840. (See Suites X. and XLVII.)

MRS. THOMPSON. Aug., 1859.

HON. DULCIBELLA EDEN. 1863.

Eldest daughter of Thomas Eden, Dep. Auditor of Greenwich Hospital, by Mariana, daughter of Arthur Jones; niece of the 1st Lord Auckland; sister of Lady Brougham; and Maid of Honour to Queen Adelaide.

MRS. CAREY.

Olivia Hester, daughter of William Gordon Thomson, Esq., of the Mount, Wadhurst; married in 1861 Major-General George Jackson Carey, C.B., who served with distinction at the Cape and in New Zealand, and was appointed in 1865 to command the troops in Australia. He died in 1872, in command of the Northern District.

Suite XV.—Duke of Cumberland's Lodgings.

(Ground, First and Second Floors of the East side of the Clock Court.)

LORD SOUTHAMPTON.

George Ferdinand, 2nd Baron, born 7th Aug., 1761. His grandmother, Lady Augustus FitzRoy, had Suite IX., his great grandmother, Mrs. Cosby, Suite XIV., his mother-in-law, Mrs. Keppel, Suite LII., and his sister-in-law, Lady Anne FitzRoy, Suite XXVII.

THE STADTHOLDER OF HOLLAND. 1795. See *ante*, p. 320.

MR. LOUIS DE CURT. 1798.

ADMIRAL SIR JAMES HAWKINS-WHITSHED, BART., AND LADY HAWKINS-WHITSHED. 1802.

Third son of James Hawkins, Bishop of Raphoe. He took the surname and arms of Whitshed in 1791, in which year also he married Sophia Henrietta, daughter of Capt. John Albert Bentinck, R.N., grandson of 1st Earl of Portland. He was made G.C.B. and Admiral, and on 16th May, 1834, a baronet. He died 29th Oct., 1849. His brother, the Rev. John Hawkins, married Anne, daughter of Alexander Montgomery of the Hall, Donegal (see Suite IX.). Lady Hawkins-Whitshed died 20th Jan., 1852.

HON. LADY HILL. 3rd Aug., 1843.

Anna Maria, second daughter of John Shore, 1st Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of India. She married, 27th July, 1821, Colonel Sir Thomas Noel Hill, K.C.B., who died 1832, younger son of Sir John Hill, Bart. Lady Hill died 25th Feb., 1886, aged eighty-eight.

MRS. DALISON. 1886.

Charlotte Grace, daughter of Hy. Wm. De la Poer Beresford-Peirse, Esq., of Bedale and Hutton Bonville, co. York, by his wife, Henrietta Anne Theodosia, only daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas J. Monson. She married, 4th Oct., 1874, Capt. Maximilian Dudley Digges Dalison, Scots Fusilier Guards, who was killed in the Soudan War in 1885. Mrs. Dalison is a sister of the present Sir Hy. Beresford-Peirse.

Suite XVI.—Lodgings of the Keeper of Bushey Park.

(In the uppermost Storey of the New Palace, over the King's Guard Chamber, Presence Chambers, &c. These apartments have a fine extra private staircase, leading to the King's Guard Chamber, and the passage on the ground-floor, known as "the Beauty Passage," into the Privy Garden. On one of the windows of the staircase is scratched the following: *Tho. Loyd Clare this Appartment Oct. 12th*, 1762. *God save the King! Martha Clowd this Apart. Jan.* 15, 1770.)

MR. AND MRS. CHRISTOPHER D'OYLEY. 16th Dec., 1767.

SIR THOMAS AND LADY BROOKE-PECHELL. 1786.

Second bart.; a Major-General in the army; he married, in 1783, Charlotte, second daughter of Lieut.-General Sir John Clavering, K.B., Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, by his wife, Lady Diana West, youngest daughter of John, 1st Earl Delawarr. (See Suites V., VI., and IX.) Sir Thomas died 18th June, 1826, and Lady Pechell 23rd Oct., 1841. Their two sons and daughters-in-law also had apartments (see Suites VI. and X.).

MRS. ALEXANDER ELLICE. 4th Dec., 1841. (See Suite VIII.)

Daughter of Charles Lock, Esq. She married, in 1825, Capt. Alexander Ellice, R.N., brother of the well-known politician, Edward Ellice, M.P. Capt. Ellice took part in the battle of Algiers, and was M.P. for Harwich from 1830-3, but resigned his seat to become Comptroller of the Coast-guard. He died in 1853.

Suite XVII.—Gold Staff Gallery.

(Uppermost Storey of South Front, with rooms also looking into the Fountain Court.)

MR. WILLIAM BRUMMELL. (See Suites XXIX. and XXX.)

MR. RICHARD TICKELL. 20th Sept., 1782.

Grandson of Addison's Thomas Tickell, a political writer and poet, killed by throwing himself out of his bedroom window, from the top floor of the Palace, on the 4th of November, 1793. For particulars, see *ante*, p. 318.

MRS. MARIANNE ELLIS. 1796.

THE LADY GRAVES. 26th Aug., 1828.

Lady Mary Paget, fifth daughter of Henry, 1st Earl of Uxbridge, and sister of the 1st Marquess of Anglesea. She married, in 1803, the 2nd Lord Graves, vacated her apartments in 1832, and died in 1835.

THE HON. MRS. CUTHBERT. 29th Nov., 1832.

Jane Anne Graves, daughter of the foregoing, married, in 1829, Capt. James W. Cuthbert, Esq., Equerry to the late Duke of Cambridge. He died 6th May, 1874; and she, 14th September, 1881. She left by her will a sum of £300, called the "Cuthbert Fund," to be invested in consols, and the income applied for the benefit of the poor of Hampton Court.

LADY POMEROY COLLEY. 1881.

Edith Althea, daughter of Major-Gen. Henry Meade Hamilton, C.B.; married, 1878, Major-Gen. Sir George Pomeroy Colley, K.C.S.I., C.B., &c., who served throughout the China War, in the Ashantee War; and was Military and Private Secretary to Lord Lytton, when Viceroy of India; Chief of the Staff to Lord Wolseley in the Zulu War; and was killed when in command at Majuba Hill in the Boer War in 1880.

Suite XVIII.—Gold Staff Gallery.

(Uppermost Storey of the South-east Angle of the New Palace, with windows looking east and south.)

MR. FITZHERBERT. 30th April, 1771.

VISCOUNT HINCHINBROKE.

John, afterwards 5th Earl of Sandwich. He married first, in 1766, Elizabeth, only surviving daughter of George, 2nd Earl of Halifax, to whom he probably owed his apartments. In 1772 he married Lady Mary Paulett, daughter of 6th and last Duke of Bolton. He succeeded his father in 1792, and died in 1814.

VISCOUNTESS MALPAS. 7th June, 1782. (See *ante*, p. 314.)

Hester, daughter of Sir Francis Edwardes, 4th Bart., of Shrewsbury and of Grete in Shropshire, by his second wife, Hester, daughter of John Lacon, Esq., of West Coppice, co. Salop. Miss Edwardes married, 19th Jan., 1747, George Viscount Malpas, eldest son of George, 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley, by his wife, Mary, only daughter of Sir Robert Walpole, and sister of Horace Walpole. Lord Malpas, who was sometime M.P. for Corfe Castle, died 15th March, 1764, in the lifetime of his father, leaving a son, George James, afterwards 4th Earl. Lady Malpas was given her rooms on account of being left in rather straitened circumstances. See Horace Walpole's *Letters*, *inter alia*, vol. i., p. 409, and vol. iv., pp. 205 and 207.

HON. MRS. BOUVERIE, AFTERWARDS TALBOT.

Arabella, eldest daughter of Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, 1st Bart. She married, first, Hon. Edward Bouverie, who died in 1824; and secondly, 17th Oct., 1828, Hon. Robert Talbot, who died 1843. She died 29th Oct., 1855.

LADY TORRENS. 1855.

Maria, daughter of the late General Murray. She married, in 1832, Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley Torrens, who died in 1855; and died Feb., 1890, aged eighty.

MRS. H. D. KEITH. 1890.

Widow of Surgeon-Major Keith, who was on the staff of the Duke of Connaught in India.

Suite XIX.

(Uppermost Storey in the South-east Corner of the New Palace.)

MR. R. DRUMMOND. 31st March, 1772.

His apartments described as in the South-east corner, entrance through the Gold Staff Gallery.

HON. MRS. STORER.

In a warrant added the "Chocolate Room" for a kitchen, with entrance from the Coffee Room Court.

MRS. F. DAWSON. 1808.

LADY ELIZABETH MONCK. 4th Feb., 1829.

(?) Elizabeth Araminta, second daughter of Arthur Saunders, 2nd Earl of Arran, K.P. ; married, 6th Aug., 1783, Henry Monck, of Fowre, co. Westmeath. Their daughter, Catherine, married the 1st Lord Oranmore (see Suite LII.), and the other, Elizabeth, Adm. Hon. Sir Charles Paget. Lady Elizabeth died in 1845.

LADY HENRY GORDON. 28th July, 1845. (See next Suite.)

MRS. SARAH PENNYCUICK. 4th April, 1851.

Widow of Brigadier Pennycuick.

MRS. CHAMBERLAIN. 1878.

Daughter of Thomas Holroyd, Esq., and granddaughter of Mr. Justice Holroyd, Judge of the Court of King's Bench ; married, in Oct., 1872, Admiral William Charles Chamberlain, who served with much distinction at St. Jean d'Acre, in the Baltic in 1855, and on the coast of Syria, and was subsequently Admiral Superintendent of Devonport Dockyard. He died in 1878. All his brothers are distinguished officers, among them Sir Neville Chamberlain.

Suite XX.—The Maids of Honour's Gallery.

(Uppermost Storey in the East Front.)

COUNTESS OF BERKELEY. 13th March, 1773. (See next Suite.)

LADY ALBINIA CUMBERLAND. Jan., 1794.

Daughter of George, Earl of Buckinghamshire, married Richard Cumberland, Esq., son of the celebrated dramatic writer, who died in 1794, and was buried at Hampton. (See Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes.*) She died 2nd Aug., 1850.

LADY HENRY GORDON. 8th Oct., 1850. (See Suite XIX.)

Miss Louisa Payne married, 6th March, 1827, Lord Henry Gordon, son of 9th Marquess of Huntley, who died 28th August, 1865. She died 17th May, 1867. Her daughters now have Suite XIII. ; and her sister-in-law, Suite X.

MRS. HOME PURVES. 1867.

Widow of Col. Home Purves, Equerry and Comptroller of the Household to H.R.H. the Duchess of Cambridge. She vacated these rooms to go to Kensington Palace in 1880.

MRS. MARCUS SLADE. 1880.

Charlotte, daughter of the Hon. Andrew Ramsay, fifth son of 8th Earl of Dalhousie ; married, 7th April, 1842, Lieut.-Gen. Marcus John Slade, son of Sir John Slade, and Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey, who died 7th March, 1872. Mrs. Slade's eldest son, Col. John Slade, C.B., is military attaché at Rome ; her second son, Major Montague Slade, 10th Hussars, was killed at El Teb ; and her third son, Col. Frederick Slade, is now Dep. Assist.-Adjutant and Quartermaster General.

Suite XXI.

(Uppermost Storey in the East Range of the Fountain Court. On a window pane in one of the rooms in this suite there was formerly scratched the following : *Georg. Albrecht Notche, Ano.* 1731, 25 *Junij.*)

COUNTESS OF BERKELEY. 13th June, 1782.

(?) Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Drax, Esq., of Charborough, co. Dorset, who married Augustus, 4th Earl of Berkeley, K.T. She married, after his death, Robert Nugent, afterwards created Earl of Clare. "During her latter marriage she had two daughters, the younger of whom Mr. Nugent disavowed for his. The elder married the 2nd Earl Temple." Horace Walpole, writing of her, says : "Be doubly on your guard against her. There is nothing so black of which she is not capable. Her gallantries are the whitest specks about her."—Vol. vii., p. 149, 16th Nov., 1778.

MRS. HENRIETTA GARDINER.

MRS. COTTIN. 10th Nov., 1797.

COLONEL COTTIN. 13th May, 1830.

He died in 1843.

MARCHIONESS WELLESLEY. 19th July, 1843. (See Suite VI.)

LADY ROBERT KERR. 24th Nov., 1843. (See Suites XXVI. and XXVII.)

FLORENCE, LADY SALE. 31st July, 1846.

Widow of General Sir Robert Sale, whose splendid services in the first Afghan War are well known. She resigned her apartments in 1848.

MISSES LOUISA AND MELLIORA CAMPBELL. 6th June, 1848.

LADY FOX-STRANGWAYS. 1855.

Sophia-Eliza, eldest daughter of Benjamin Harenc, Esq., of Foot's Cray, married 20th July, 1833. Widow of Brigadier-General Thomas Fox-Strangways, R.A., second son of the Hon. and Rev. Charles, third son of Stephen, 1st Earl of Ilchester. General Fox-Strangways commanded the R.A. in the Crimea, and was killed at Inkermann, 5th Nov., 1854.

MRS. ROBERT FITZROY. 1870.

Maria Isabella, daughter of the late John Henry Smyth, Esq., of Heath Hall, Yorkshire, by Lady Elizabeth Anne FitzRoy. She married, 22nd April, 1854, as his second wife, her cousin, Vice-Admiral Robert FitzRoy, the well-known meteorologist, who died 30th April, 1865. Mrs. FitzRoy died in January, 1890.

MISS DENNEHY. 1890.

Elsie, daughter of Major-General Thomas Dennehy, C.I.E., who served in the Sonthal Campaign, 1855-6, and during the Indian Mutiny, and was Political Agent at Dholepore, 1879-85. He is now extra-groom-in-waiting to the Queen, having charge of her Majesty's Indian servants.

Suite XXII.

(Uppermost Storey of the North-east Corner of the Fountain Court.)

MR. AND MISS STANLEY.

MRS. WYNCH.

MRS. FLORA WILLIS.

Mother of the next lady and widow of Dr. Francis Willis, parson and "mad doctor," who had the entire management of George III. in his lunacy. She died in 1843.

MISS WILLIS, AFTERWARDS MRS. WOLLEY. 12th Sept., 1843.

Emily Frances, daughter of the foregoing; married about 1844 the Rev. Mr. Wolley.

LADY CAVAGNARI. 19th April, 1880.

Mercy Emma, daughter of Dr. Henry Graves, of Cookstown, co. Tyrone; married, in 1871, Major Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, K.C.B., C.S.I., who was appointed, after the Afghan War, Resident at Cabul, where he was murdered in Sept., 1879.

Suite XXIII.—Duke of York's Apartments.

(Ground Floor, South-east Angle of the New Palace.)

LADY HARRIETT HOSTE. 1830; warrant not made out till Oct., 1845.

Daughter of the 3rd Earl of Orford, and widow of Capt. Sir Wm. Hoste, K.C.B., 1st Bart.

LADY GEORGIANA GREY.

Daughter of Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, the great Reform statesman, to whom she acted as private secretary. She was given in 1861 Suite XXVII. but never occupied them. For further particulars about Lady Georgiana, see *ante*, p. 413.

Suite XXIV.

(Ground Floor in the East Front, to the north of the Garden Gate.)

MRS. HORNECK.

Widow of General Horneck. Her two daughters, Mrs. Bunbury and Mrs. Gwynne, were celebrated beauties, and their portraits among the best of Sir Joshua Reynolds's (Mdme. D'Arblay's *Diary and Letters*).

ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF ERROL. 18th June, 1800. (See Suite XLIV.)

MRS. MARGARET BLAKE. 10th Jan., 1820.

She resigned her apartments in 1847. She was aunt of the following.

LADY HAMILTON CHICHESTER. 3rd Feb., 1847.

Honoria Anastatia, daughter of Col. Henry James Blake, of Ardfry, co. Galway, and sister of the 3rd Lord Wallscourt. She married, 7th Dec., 1837, Lord Hamilton Chichester, who died 1st Jan., 1854. Lady Hamilton died 7th Feb., 1878.

THE MISSES CUPPAGE. (See Suite XXXIX.)

MRS. WILKINSON. 1884.

Suite XXV.—Prince of Wales' Lodgings.

(Ground Floor, North-east Angle of the New Palace.)

REV. DR. RICHARD LILLINGSTON, LL.D. *Chaplain* (? 31st Jan., 1774?).

Reader and Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Prebendary of Sarum, and Vicar of Leigh, Kent. Died in 1786, and was buried in Hampton churchyard.

(His curate given the use of three rooms on the organ-loft stairs; and a place for coals at the bottom.)

REV. MR. KEETE.

COUNTESS OF MORNINGTON. 1795.

Anne, eldest daughter of Arthur Hill, 1st Lord Dungannon; she married, 6th Feb., 1759, Garrett, 1st Earl of Mornington, and thus became the mother of the Marquess Wellesley, the illustrious Governor-General of India, and of his brother the great Duke of Wellington. Lady Mornington died 10th Sept., 1831. Her daughter and her son also had apartments in the Palace (see Suite XXVII.), as well as two of her daughters-in-law (see Suites VI. and XLIV.).

COUNTESS OF BESSBOROUGH.

(?) Lady Caroline Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, 3rd Duke of Devonshire, married, 5th June, 1739, William, 2nd Earl of Bessborough, who died 11th March, 1793.

MRS. JANE KIRBY. 19th Sept., 1831.

Wife of Thomas Norbury Kirby, Esq., of Antigua.

HON. MRS. ANNE BRYANT STAPLETON. 7th July, 1835.

Daughter of the foregoing; married Hon. and Rev. Miles Stapleton, Rector of Nurworth.

MISS ADELAIDE STAPLETON, AFTERWARDS MRS. CATESBY PAGET. 7th July, 1835.

Daughter of the foregoing; married Capt. Catesby Paget, son of the Hon. and Rev. Berkeley Paget. She died in 1860.

LADY BOURCHIER. Sept., 1860.

Jane Barbara, eldest daughter of the late Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, G.C.B., who commanded at the "untoward event," the Battle of Navarino.

She married, in 1843, Capt. Sir Thomas Bourchier, R.N., who was made a K.C.B. in 1843, and who died in 1849. Lady Bourchier died on 3rd April, 1884, at the age of seventy-four.

LADY MARGARET BOURKE. 1884. (See Suite XXXIX.)

MISS SOMERSET. April, 1887. (See Suite XL.)

COUNTESS OF DESART. 1888.

Lady Eliza Campbell, daughter of 1st Earl of Cawdor; married 28th June, 1842, the Earl of Desart, who died 1st April, 1865. Lady Desart was Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen.

Suite XXVI.—The Prince of Wales' Private Apartments.

MRS. WHITEHOUSE. 23rd March, 1808.

MISS YEO. 19th Sept., 1817.

After frequently applying for leave of absence, she vacated her rooms in Aug., 1843.

LADY ROBERT KERR. 13th Sept., 1843. (See Suites XXI. and XXVII.)

MRS. JANE BULLEY. 14th Dec., 1843.

Daughter of Rev. William Beloe, Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c., translator of Herodotus, and author of various works; she married Ashburnham Bulley, Esq., of H.M. Exchequer, and Chief Clerk of Issues, who brought to light the forgeries of Exchequer bills by Beaumont Smith. He died in 1843; and she in 1859.

MRS. HODSON. Jan., 1860.

Susan, daughter of Capt. C. Henry, R.N.; married, first, John Mitford, Esq., of Exbury, Hants, and secondly, Major Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, who, after many brilliant exploits, especially before Delhi, was killed at Lucknow, during the Mutiny, on March 12th, 1858.

LADY WILLIAM PHIPPS. Nov., 1884.

Constance Emma, youngest daughter of Alfred Keyser, Esq., of Kingshill, Great Berkhampstead; married 31st March, 1875, Lord William Phipps, R.N., second son of the Marquess of Normanby, who died 19th Feb., 1880.

Suite XXVII.—The Queen's Half-Storey.

(This is the apartment in which the fire broke out in December, 1882.)

MISS HESTER GREVILLE. 4th May, 1770.

Daughter of Hon. Algernon Greville (son of 5th Lord Greville), by his wife Mary, daughter of Lord Arthur Somerset.

HON. MRS. STORER.

LADY ANNE WELLESLEY, AFTERWARDS FITZROY, AFTERWARDS CULLING SMITH.

Only daughter of Garrett, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl of Mornington, and was thus the sister of the great Duke of Wellington and of Marquess Wellesley. (See *ante*, p. 328, and Suites VI. and XXV.) She married, first, in 1790, Hon. Henry FitzRoy, son of Lord Southampton (see Suite XV.), and grandson of Lady Augustus FitzRoy (see Suite IX.), who died in 1794; and secondly, Charles Culling Smith, Esq., of Hampton, who died in 1853. She died 16th Dec., 1844. Her daughter, Emily Frances, married Henry, 7th Duke of Beaufort, father of the present duke.

LADY CAROLINE BARRINGTON. 24th May, 1845.

She resigned these apartments on receiving a grant of rooms in Kensington Palace, 28th July, 1845.

LADY ROBERT KERR. 19th Dec., 1845. (See Suites XXI. and XXVI.)

Mary, daughter of Rev. Edmund Gilbert, of Windsor House, Cornwall. Married, in 1806, Lord Robert, youngest son of William John, 5th Marquess of Lothian.

LADY GEORGIANA GREY. 10th Dec., 1861. (See Suite XXIII.)

Lady Georgiana was given these rooms, but never occupied them.

HON. MRS. MONTAGU VILLIERS. 1862.

Amelia Maria, eldest daughter of William Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, Lancashire; she married, 30th Jan., 1837, the Hon. and Rev. Henry Montagu Villiers, Bishop of Durham, and brother of the illustrious Foreign Secretary, 4th Earl of Clarendon. The bishop died 9th Aug., 1861, and Mrs. Villiers 5th Feb., 1871.

MRS. CROFTON. Feb., 1871. (See Suite XXXVI.)

Fanny, daughter of Surgeon Home; widow of Col. Crofton, R.A., who was Brigadier of Artillery in China, and who died suddenly at Malta while commanding there.

MRS. WILLIAM MAYNE.

Helen C. Davidson, daughter of J. R. Davidson, of the Bengal Civil Service, at one time Resident at Lucknow, and after Secretary to the Indian Government. She married, in 1844, Col. Wm. Mayne, A.D.C., who served with great distinction in the first Afghan War, and was one of the "Illustrious Garrison" under Sale, at Jellalabad. He commanded the Governor-General's bodyguard, and was on the staff of Lord Ellenborough and Lord Hardinge.

Suite XXVIII.—The Queen's Half-Storey.

(East side of the Fountain Court.)

MRS. ANNE WALSH. 3rd April, 1771.

MR. W. MYDDLETON or MIDDLETON. 20th Feb., 1782.

MRS. BRERETON. 1803.

Great-aunt of Mrs. Ellice (see Suite XVI.), being sister of Sir Luke Schaub.

MISS CHARLOTTE THOROTON. 27th Feb., 1829.

MRS. SARAH PENNYCUICK. 4th April, 1851.

MRS. CURETON. (See Suite XXXIV.)

LADY BOXER.

Widow of the distinguished Capt. Boxer, R.N. She died 15th April, 1873.

MRS. HORE. 27th April, 1873.

Maria, daughter of the late General Sir William Reid, R.E., K.C.B., &c., Gentleman Usher to H.R.H. the Prince Consort; she married, in 1847, Capt. Edward George Hore, R.N., who, among many other services, served at the capture of St. Jean d'Acre and in the trenches before Sevastopol. He was afterwards Naval Attaché to the British Embassy in Paris for eleven years, where he frequently received the thanks of the two governments, especially for his zeal and discretion during the Franco-German War. He died Sept., 1871.

Suite XXIX.—Silver Staff Gallery.

(Held originally as one with the next. Uppermost Storey, North side of the Fountain Court.)

MR. WILLIAM BRUMMELL. 28th Sept., 1782.

MR. JOHN HALE.

MRS. MARY BARNE. April, 1803, and 14th Sept., 1831.

Mrs. Barne was mother of Mrs. Bowater (see Suite XIII.).

VISCOUNTESS HEREFORD. 3rd Aug., 1843. (See Suite III.)

MISS POTTINGER. 2nd Feb., 1844.

Alicia, sister of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B., sometime Governor of Madras.

(?) LADY JONES.

MISS LONGLEY. 1869.

Frances E. Rosamond, daughter of Dr. Longley, Archbishop, first of York, and then of Canterbury.

Suite XXX.

(Second Floor on the East side of the Clock Court.)

MR. BRUMMELL. 31st March, 1772.

MR. J. HALE. 6th Jan., 1796.

MRS. CHARLOTTE ANNE MOORE. 31st March, 1803, and 16th Dec., 1815.

MRS. C. A. MOORE AND MISS MARY BRIDGET MOORE. 8th Oct., 1831.

She was granddaughter of Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, famed for her educational books for children—"The History of the Robins" being one of the best known.

MRS. SPENCER. 1873.

Widow of the Bishop of Jamaica, who was thirty years Missionary and Bishop.

MRS. MONCRIEFFE. 1883.

Widow of Capt. Moncrieffe. Removed to Kensington Palace in 1884.

MRS. ROBERT HALL. 1884.

Teresa Bridget Tunstall, of Wycliffe Hall, Yorkshire, widow of Admiral Robert Hall.

Suite XXXI.—Silver Stick Gallery.

(A Gallery with a set of some twelve rooms, in part above the Queen's Great Staircase, on the south side of the Round Kitchen Court, with windows abutting north into that court, and south over the Communication Gallery and the court behind it. Half of this apartment formerly belonged to the foregoing suite, and half to Suite XVIII., the occupants of which, Mrs. Hall and Lady Torrens, surrendered them in 1886 to form a new suite for Miss Barnard. This is the gallery said to be haunted by the ghost of Jane Seymour, see vol. i., p. 195.)

MISS BARNARD.

Rose, daughter of Lady Barnard. (See Suite XXVII.)

Suite XXXII.

(Second and Third Storeys in East side of Clock Court.)

MRS. ELIZABETH PARSONS. 21st Sept., 1786.

LADY CECILIA JOHNSTONE. 17th April, 1813.

Lady Henrietta Cecilia West, daughter of John, 1st Earl Delawarr. She was born in 1730, and married, May 5th, 1763, Lieut.-Gen. James Johnstone. The Hon. Henry St. John, writing to George Selwyn, on July 21st, 1768, says: "Lady Cecilia is our Queen. I dine and sup, and pay my court to her, as Indians do to the devil, out of fear. I have no reason to complain of her want of civility to me."—*George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, vol. ii., p. 314. Her death took place at Hampton Court, Feb. 24th, 1817.

MARQUISE AND MISS CLEMENTINA DE LA PIERRE. 1817.

LADY JANE HILDYARD. 27th Nov., 1817.

Daughter of the Right Hon. Lord John Townshend, M.P. for Cambridge, Westminster, &c., by his wife Georgiana Ann Pointz. Lady Jane was sister of the 4th Marquess Townshend, and was granted a patent of precedence as a marquess's daughter. She married, 6th Nov., 1824, John Hildyard, Esq., who died 1855. She died 7th March, 1878.

MRS. GOODENOUGH. March, 1878.

Victoria, daughter of William John Hamilton, Esq., by his wife, the Hon. Margaret Frances F., daughter of 13th Viscount Dillon; married, 31st May, 1864, Captain James Goodenough, R.N., C.B., C.M.G., son of Dr. Goodenough, Dean of Wells. Captain Goodenough died on board H.M.S. "Pearl," on 20th Aug., 1875, from arrow wounds received at Carlisle Bay, in the island of Santa Cruz, which he was visiting for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with the natives. He sailed away to die, refusing to allow a single life to be taken in retribution.

Suite XXXIII.—"Clerk of the Spicerie's Lodgings."

(Ground Floor of the West side of the Clock Court, including rooms behind the Colonnade, one known as "Sir Christopher Wren's Studio.")

(?) MR. DUNKERLEY.

MRS. BIDDELL.

MRS. FLETCHER.

MRS. NOTT. 24 Jan., 1809. (See Suite XLII.)

LADY FRANCES BERESFORD. 12th Jan., 1813. (See Suite XIV.)

LADY HENRIETTA DE BLAQUIERE. 4th Feb., 1829.

Daughter of 1st Marquess Townshend. She married, 16th Sept., 1811, the Hon. Lieut.-General William de Blaquiere, afterwards 3rd Lord de Blaquiere, who died 2nd Nov., 1851. She died 9th Nov., 1848.

MRS. ANNE SKINNER. 19th Nov., 1844.

LADY HAWES.

Sophia, elder daughter of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, the celebrated engineer, by his wife Sophia Kingdom. She married, in 1820, Mr. Benjamin Hawes, M.P. for Lambeth in 1832, and afterwards Permanent Under-Secretary-at-War, and K.C.B. Lady Hawes resigned her apartments in 1876.

LADY ROBERTS. 1876.

Daughter of Abraham Bunbury, Esq., of Kilfeacle, co. Tipperary. She married, first, Major Hamilton George Maxwell, of Ardwell, N.B.; and, secondly, in 1830, Sir Abraham Roberts, G.C.B., who died in 1873. Lady Roberts was the mother of General Sir Frederick Roberts, the hero of the famous march from Cabul to Candahar in 1880. Lady Roberts died on March 8th, 1882.

MISS ROBERTS.

Daughter of the foregoing. Her name was put into her mother's warrant after her brother's brilliant services in Afghanistan, but she died before her mother.

MRS. STIRLING.

Eldest daughter of the late Colonel Francis, R.E., Governor of the West-end branch of the Bank of England up to the date of his death. Miss Francis married Capt. Frank Stirling, who commanded the naval brigade in the Perak Expedition, and who was captain of the ill-fated ship, the "Atalanta," which mysteriously foundered in Feb., 1880.

Suite XXXIV.—"The Lady of the Bedchamber's Lodgings."

MRS. SARAH HODGES. 9th Nov., 1781.

HON. MRS. POOLE. 19th March, 1799.

MRS. FITZGERALD. 25th June, 1800. (See Suite VIII.)

MISS CAROLINE GEORGINA FITZGERALD. 17th Aug., 1830. (See Suite VIII.)

MRS. OTTER. 4th Dec., 1841.

Widow of Bishop Otter.

MISS DRUMMOND. 3rd Aug., 1843.

MRS. CURETON. 15th Dec., 1855. (See Suite XXVIII.)

Charlotte Agnes, widow of Brigadier-General Charles Cureton, C.B., killed in action in India. Her son, General Sir Charles, was also a distinguished cavalry officer, who served in the Sutlej Campaign, and throughout the Indian Mutiny.

MRS. ROBERT KEATE. Feb., 1876.

Daughter of Mr. T. Murray, of Woodbrook, Trinidad, and widow of Robert W. Keate, Esq., successively Commissioner of the Seychelles Islands, Governor of Grenada, Trinidad, Natal, and, in 1873, of Western Africa, where he died from the effects of the climate. He was son of Mr. Robert Keate, Sergeant Surgeon to her Majesty, and nephew of Dr. Keate, of Eton celebrity.

Suite XXXV.—"Haunted Gallery Lodgings."

MR. BRADSHAW. (See Suites XXXVIII. and XXXIX.)

For an account of him, see *ante*, p. 304.

REV. J. BOOTY.

LADY LOUISA CADOGAN.

MRS., AFTERWARDS LADY JANE, HILDYARD. 2nd June, 1827. (See Suite XXXII.)

MISS CLEMENTINA DE LA PIERRE. 4th Dec., 1827.

HON. MR. AND MRS. BERKELEY PAGET. 20th Aug., 1833. (See Suite XXXVIII.)

MRS. WELLESLEY. 1859.

Widow of Major Wellesley, who died of cholera just after landing in the Crimea. Mrs. Wellesley died in 1878. Her daughter, Hyacinthe, married Sir William Bartlett Dalby, the well-known aurist.

MRS. BUCHANAN. 1878.

Julia, daughter of the late Gen. Wallace, R.A., widow of Gen. Buchanan, R.A., and niece of Sir John Paul Hopkins, who was severely wounded in the Peninsular War, and was many years Service Knight of Windsor.

Suite XXXVI.

(Ground Floor, off the Serving Place.)

LADY SHERARD.

Of the family of the extinct Earls of Harborough, and present Barons Sherard.

HON. LUCIA SOUTHWELL. 29th June, 1768.

Daughter of the 1st Lord Southwell by Lady Melliora Coningsby, daughter of Earl Coningsby.

MRS. WILMOT.

Mother of Valentine Wilmot, Esq., of Farnborough, Hants, first husband of the following.

LADY DACRE.

Daughter of Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, 2nd Bart., of Wortley; she married, first, Valentine Wilmot (see foregoing), and secondly, Thomas Brand, 20th Lord Dacre.

MRS. THOMAS SHERIDAN. 2nd Oct., 1820.

Miss Caroline Callender, daughter of Colonel Callender, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth McDonnell, daughter of the Earl of Antrim. She married in June, 1805, Tom Sheridan, son of the great Richard Brinsley Sheridan. He died at the Cape of Good Hope on Sept. 17th, 1817. Her daughters were the three famous beauties—Mrs. Norton, the Duchess of Somerset, and Lady Dufferin, mother of the present Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. As to her sons Frank and Charlie, see *ante*, p. 333. Mrs. Sheridan died 9th June, 1851.

DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS. 18th June, 1851. (See Suite II.)

MRS. PLANTA. 23rd Feb., 1852.

Widow of the Right Hon. Joseph Planta, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Secretary of the Treasury. (See Croker's *Memoirs*, i., 398, 1828.)

LADY STEPHENSON.

Widow of Sir Benjamin Stephenson, long in the service of the Royal Family.

LADY WARD. 12th Dec., 1861.

Emily Elizabeth, daughter of the late Sir John Edward Swinburne, 6th Bart., of Capheaton, co. Northumberland, by his wife, Emily Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. R. H. A. Bennett, of Beckenham, co. Kent. Miss Swinburne married, in 1824, Sir Henry Ward, K.C.B., Secretary of the Admiralty, High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, Governor of Ceylon, and finally of Madras, where he died in 1860 of cholera, contracted in undertaking the sanitation of the town. Lady Ward, who died in the Palace on 19th Nov., 1881, at the age of eighty-four, was aunt of the poet Algernon Charles Swinburne.

MRS. CROFTON. 1882. (See Suite XXVII.)

MRS. THOMSON. 1885.

Emily, daughter of the Rev. Henry Salmon, and sister of Admiral Sir Nowell Salmon, V.C., K.C.B.; married Capt. Frank Jourle Thomson, R.N., late Captain of the "Challenger," and of the Royal Yacht. He died in 1884.

Suite XXXVII.

(In the North Range, entrance in the Tennis Court Lane.)

MR. KNIGHT MITCHELL. 26th Oct., 1782.

COUNTESS OF ATHLONE. Before 1804.

(?) Elizabeth Christine, Baroness de Tuyll de Cerookerken, and widow of the 6th Earl. She died in 1819. (See Burke's *Extinct Peers*.)

MRS. MACKENZIE FRASER. 17th April, 1851.

Daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Bagot, G.C.B., ambassador at St. Petersburg, and Governor-General of Canada.

MRS. HENRY BAGOT. 8th July, 1851.

Sister of the foregoing. Married Admiral Bagot.

MRS. EDEN.

MRS. MARY HARRIET LIPSCOMBE.

Widow of a colonial bishop.

LADY BARNARD. March, 1860.

Isabella Letitia, daughter of Brigadier-General James Catlin Crauford; married, in 1828, General Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., who was Chief of the Staff in the Crimea, present at the taking of the Redan and the storming of Sevastopol; and who died of cholera, in 1857, while commanding in chief the troops before Delhi during the Indian Mutiny. Lady Barnard died Jan., 1886. (For her daughter, see Suite XXXI.)

MRS. HENRY BROOKE. 1886.

Anne Isabella, elder daughter of Major L. R. Christopher, of the Bengal Staff Corps; married, in 1865, Brigadier-General Henry Francis Brooke, of Ashbrook, co. Fermanagh, who, after serving in the Crimea at the siege of Sevastopol, and in the campaign in China, in which he was wounded, and holding numerous important staff appointments in India, was selected to command the 2nd Infantry Brigade in the Afghan War. He was killed at Candahar on 16th Aug., 1880, in the endeavour to save the life of a brother officer.

Suite XXXVIII.

MR. BRADSHAW. Before 1770. (See Suites XXXV. and XXXIX.)

MR. CALVERT.

LADIES FRANCES AND ANNE LUDLOW. 1803.

HON. MR. AND MRS. BERKELEY PAGET. 20th Aug., 1833. (See Suite XXXV.)

Sophia Askell, daughter of the Hon. William Bucknall, married November, 1804, the Hon. Berkeley, fifth son of Henry, 1st Earl of Uxbridge. He died 26th Oct., 1843, and she on 18th Feb., 1859. Her eldest daughter was the late Viscountess Guillamore. (See Suite XLI.)

HON. MATILDA PAGET.

Third daughter of the foregoing, born 7th July, 1811, was Maid of Honour to the Queen, and died 17th May, 1871.

MRS. EDWIN WODEHOUSE. 1871.

Catherine, only daughter of Capt. John Strut; married, 16th Oct., 1845, Col. Edwin Wodehouse, R.A., C.B., A.D.C. to the Queen, Knight of the Legion of Honour, son of Admiral the Hon. Philip Wodehouse, and brother of the Rev. Philip C. Wodehouse. (See Suite V.) Col. Wodehouse died 6th Oct., 1870, and Mrs. Wodehouse 9th Jan., 1873.

MRS. CAVENDISH BOYLE. Jan., 1873.

Rose Susan, second daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Chas. Carson Alexander, R.E., Governor of the Military Convict Prison; married, 19th Dec., 1844, Capt. Cavendish Spencer Boyle, late 72nd regiment, who died in 1868.

Suite XXXIX.

(North Range. It was in this suite that the fire broke out in November, 1886.)

MR. BRADSHAW. (See Suites XXXV. and XXXVIII.)

COUNTESS OF ERNE. 1803.

Lady Mary Hervey, eldest daughter of Frederick Augustus, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Jermyn Davers. She married the 2nd Baron and 1st Earl of Erne, being his second wife, and died 10th Jan., 1842.

DOWAGER COUNTESS OF CAVAN. 20th April, 1842.

Lydia, second daughter of William Arnold, Esq., of Slatswood, Isle of Wight, by Martha, daughter of John Delafield, Esq. She married Richard, 7th Earl of Cavan, as his second wife, on 11th August, 1814. He had commanded a division in Egypt in 1800, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie. He died 21st Nov., 1838, and she on 7th Feb., 1862.

HON. LUCY KERR.

Lucy Maria, fifth daughter of Major-General Lord Robert Kerr (youngest son of William John, 5th Marquess of Lothian). (For her mother, see Suite XXVII.) Miss Kerr was born 21st June, 1822 ; was Maid of Honour to the Queen, and died 27th June, 1874.

LADY MARGARET BOURKE. (See Suite XXV.)

Margaret Harriett, eldest daughter of Robert, 5th Earl of Mayo, by Anne Charlotte, only daughter of the Hon. John Jocelyn ; born 14th April, 1825, and died 29th Dec., 1886. She was sister of Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India, who was assassinated in 1872.

MISS CUPPAGE. 1884. (See Suite XXV.)

Daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Burke Cuppage, K.C.B., and Emily Anne Fouril, daughter of Sir John and Lady Emily Macleod. Sir B. Cuppage served in the Peninsular War under the Duke of Wellington, and also in the campaign of 1815, including the battle of Waterloo.

MISS J. L. E. CUPPAGE. 1889.

Sister of the foregoing.

Suite XL.—Ladies and Women of the Princess's Lodging.

(Second Floor, North Range, with windows abutting north on Tennis Court Lane, and south and east on the Chapel Court. Held till 1803 with the following suite.)

MISS JANE PENNINGTON. (See Suites XLI. and XLIII.)

Daughter of Sir Joseph Pennington, co. Cumberland, and sister of the 1st and 2nd Lords Muncaster. She appears to have held the following apartment with this; the two being then undivided till after her death.

ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR COURTENAY AND LADY BOYLE. 1810; a new warrant including her husband, 8th Oct., 1831.

He was the third son of Edmund, 7th Earl of Cork, by Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Kelland Courtenay, Esq., of Painsford, co. Devon. Sir Courtenay was born in 1770; married, in 1799, Carolina Amelia, daughter of William Pointz, Esq., of Midgham, co. Berks, whose name was also in the warrant. He died 21st May, 1844. Lady Boyle vacated her apartments in 1845, and died 7th Oct., 1851. Sir Courtenay was father-in-law of Mrs. Cavendish Boyle, now likewise an inhabitant of the Palace (see Suite XXXVIII.).

MISS SOMERSET. 18th Nov., 1845. (See Suite XXV.)

Louisa Isabella, eldest daughter of General Lord Robert Edward Somerset, uncle of the present Duke of Beaufort, by his wife, Louisa Augusta, daughter of William, Viscount Courtenay. After the fire in Nov., 1886, which extended to this apartment, Miss Somerset was given Suite XXV.

LADY MACGREGOR. 4th Dec., 1888.

Charlotte Mary, daughter of Mr. Fred. W. Jardine, married in 1883, as his second wife, Major-General Sir Charles MacGregor, K.C.B., one of India's most illustrious soldiers, who was Sir Frederick Roberts's Chief of the Staff, and accompanied him on the famous march from Cabul to Candahar. He died on Feb. 5th, 1887.

Suite XLI.—Ladies and Women of the Princess's Lodging. (2.)

(Second and Third Floor of the North Range, with windows abutting on the Chapel Court, Tennis Court Lane, and Public Gardens. Now held as one with the following suite.)

MISS JANE PENNINGTON. (See Suites XL. and XLIII.)

LORD AND LADY GEORGE SEYMOUR. May, 1803.

He was seventh son of Francis, 1st Marquess of Hertford, who was Lord Chamberlain in 1766, and brother of the 2nd Marquess, who was also Lord Chamberlain. He was born 1763; married Isabella, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, and died in 1848. He was uncle of Sir George Seymour (see Suite IV.), and of Sir Horace Seymour (see Suite II.). Lady George's niece, Miss Copley, had Suite VII.

DOWAGER VISCOUNTESS GUILLAMORE. 15th Jan., 1852.

Gertrude Jane, eldest daughter of the Hon. Berkeley Paget, by Sophia Askell, daughter of the Hon. Wm. Bucknall. She married, 16th Oct., 1828, Standish-Derby, 2nd Viscount Guillamore, who died 22nd July, 1848. She died 22nd Oct., 1871. (For her father and mother, see Suites XXXV. and XXXVIII.; for her sister, see Suite XXXVIII.; for his sister-in-law, Suite XXV.; and for her cousin, Suites V. and X.)

LADY BURGOYNE AND MISS BURGOYNE. October, 1871.

Charlotte, daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Hugh Rose, of Holme, Nairnshire; married, in 1821, Field-Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B., who served with great distinction in the Peninsular and American Wars; and was second in command of the forces in the Crimea. He was Inspector-General of Fortifications from 1845 to 1868; and when he died, in 1871, was Constable of the Tower. Lady Burgoyne never occupied the rooms, dying a few months after her husband; but they were passed on to her daughter Selina.

Suite XLII.—Prince of Wales' Servants' Lodging.

MRS. MELLIORA OTWAY. 25th Nov., 1775.

MISS CHARLOTTE NOTT. 1813. (See Suite XXXIII.)

LORD AND LADY G. SEYMOUR. 6th Oct., 1826. (See foregoing Suite.)

DOWAGER VISCOUNTESS GUILLAMORE. (See foregoing Suite.)

LADY AND MISS BURGOYNE. (See Suite XLI.)

Suite XLIII.—Pages and Servants of the Princesses' Lodging.

(Ground Floor, East side of the Chapel Court.)

MR. AND MISS PENNINGTON. (See Suites XL. and XLI.)

DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SEFTON. (See Suite XIII.)

Lady Isabella Stanhope, second daughter of William, 2nd Earl of Harrington, by Caroline, eldest daughter of Charles, 2nd Duke of Grafton. She married on 27th Nov., 1768, Charles William, 1st Earl of Sefton, who died on 31st January, 1795. She died 29th Jan., 1819.

MISS FRANCES WALPOLE. March, 1819. (See *ante*, p. 317.)

Frances Margaretta, daughter of Col. Lambert Theodore Walpole. She lived in these apartments with her sister, Charlotte Louisa, for sixty-seven years, dying on 21st Sept., 1886, at the age of ninety-seven. Her sister died 11th Nov., 1887. (For her mother, see Suite XIII.; and her cousins, Suites II. and XVIII.)

MRS. DURNFORD. 1886.

Widow of Col. A. W. Durnford, R.E., who was killed at Isandlwana during the Zulu War.

THE MISSES GLEIG.

Daughters of the late Rev. George Robert Gleig, Chaplain-General of the Forces, who originally served with distinction in the Peninsular War, where he was thrice wounded, and in the American War; and afterwards went into the Church, and became a prolific writer on military and other topics. He married, in 1819, a daughter of Captain Cameron of Kinlochleven; and died in 1888.

Suite XLIV.—Princesses Amelia and Caroline's Lodgings.

(First Floor, East end of the North Range.)

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, BART. *26th April*, 1775.

Apparently the 4th Baronet, of Silvertonhall, co. Lanark. He served in the army and attained the rank of Lieutenant-General; married, first, Mary, daughter of W. Pier Williams, Esq., and secondly, in 1775, Anne, daughter of Sir John Heathcote, Bart., of Normanton, co. Rutland. His warrant grants him also "the garrets immediately over, and three rooms under the said apartments."

[PRINCE OF ORANGE?] (See *ante*, pp. 320, 462.)

HON. AND REV. GERALD VALERIAN AND LADY EMILY WELLESLEY. 1806.

Fourth son of Garrett, 1st Earl of Mornington, and brother of the Marquess Wellesley and the 1st Duke of Wellington. (For his mother, see Suite XXV.) Born 7th Dec., 1770; married 2nd June, 1802, Emily Mary, eldest daughter of Charles Sloane, 1st Earl Cadogan. He was D.D., Prebendary of Durham, and Chaplain of Hampton Court Palace. Lady Emily died 22nd Dec., 1839, and Dr. Wellesley 24th Oct., 1848.

COUNTESS OF ERROL. Nov., 1823. (See Suite XXIV.)

Lady Emily FitzClarence, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, and sister of the 1st Earl of Munster. She married, 4th Dec., 1820, William George, 17th Earl of Errol, K.T., who died 19th April, 1846. Lady Errol died 16th Jan., 1856. In Dec., 1831, they moved to St. James's Palace.

MR. AND LADY SARAH BAYLEY. 12th May, 1831, and Mr. Bayley's name added jointly and separately, 11th April, 1832.

Daughter of George Bussy, 4th Earl of Jersey, by Frances, only daughter and heiress of the Right Rev. Philip Twysden, D.D., Bishop of Raphoe; she married in 1800 Charles Nathaniel Bayley, Esq., and died 25th May, 1852. Mr. Bayley died in 1854.

MRS. DOHERTY. 1854.

Widow of Lord Chief Justice Doherty. She died Sept., 1881.

MRS. ROWLEY LAMBERT.

Helen, daughter of the late James Campbell, Esq., of the Green, Hampton Court; married in 1863 the late Admiral Rowley Lambert.

Suite XLV.

MISS SMART.

Daughter of the keeper of the old "Toy" inn (see *ante*, p. 330); born about 1796. Her apartments were given to her by William IV.

MRS. WYNDHAM.

Daughter of T. Case, Esq., of Shenstone Moss, Lichfield, and widow of Col. Charles Wyndham, of the Scots Greys, who was severely wounded as a lieutenant, aged nineteen, at the battle of Waterloo, and who, after twenty-eight years' service, retired from the command of the regiment, and afterwards was for nearly twenty years Keeper of the Regalia in the Tower of London. Mrs. Wyndham died in 1882.

MRS. DOMVILLE.

Anne, daughter of Capt. James Rickard, R.N.; married, in 1848, Dr. William Domville, C.B., M.D., R.N., who was Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, Honorary Surgeon to the Queen, and who, while in charge of the Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar, contracted typhoid fever, from which he died in 1879. He had served in the Crimea, and in the Arctic Expeditions.

Suite XLVI.—"Lodgings of the Master of the Tennis Court."

MRS. MEYNELL.

MISS ELIZA STEWART. 9th June, 1830.

Miss Stewart was lent these rooms by Mr. Beresford, by permission. She was an aunt of the present Sir Christopher Teesdale, the Prince of Wales's Equerry. She died 31st Dec., 1848.

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM BERESFORD. 23rd Jan., 1849.

Second son of Marcus Beresford, by Frances Arabella, daughter of Joseph, 1st Earl of Milltown; born in 1797; Major in the army and M.P. for North Essex, 1847-65, Secretary at War, 1852. He married, 19th Dec., 1833, Catherine, youngest daughter of George Robert Heneage, Esq., of Hainton Hall, co. Lincoln, and died 6th Oct., 1883. He was the last holder of the ancient office of "Master of the King's Tennis Courts," to which he was appointed at the age of eighteen. His mother had Suites XXXIII. and XIV.

MR. A. GRAHAM, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE GARDENS.

Suite XLVII.—The Pavilions.

H.R.H. WILLIAM HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER (June, 1764), AND COUNTESS WALDEGRAVE, AFTERWARDS DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.

Maria, second illegitimate daughter of Hon. Sir Edward Walpole, K.B. She married, in 1759, James, 2nd Earl Waldegrave, Governor to George III., when Prince of Wales. By him, who died 13th April, 1763, she had three daughters, the beautiful Ladies Waldegrave, so well known from Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture. Her second daughter, Charlotte Maria, who married

the 4th Duke of Grafton, was the mother of Lady Isabella St. John (see Suite XII.). Horace Walpole mentions Lady Waldegrave living at the Pavilions in 1784, and also his three beautiful nieces. (See *ante*, p. 314.) Lady Waldegrave's subsequent marriage to the Duke of Gloucester, George III.'s brother, was the occasion of the passing of the Royal Marriage Act. He died in 1805, and she 22nd Aug., 1807.

H.R.H. EDWARD, THE DUKE OF KENT. 1807?

Fourth son of George III.; married Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfield, by whom he was father of Her Majesty the Queen. He died in 1820.

MRS. MARGARET VESEY. 1815. (See Suites X. and XIV.)

MAJOR-GENERAL AND MRS. MOORE. By the King's commands, Nov. 1st, 1822, and 27th July, 1830.

The Pavilions were assigned to General Moore "in recognition of important services rendered by him to the Duke of Kent, when his life was endangered in the Pigtail Mutiny at Gibraltar" (Julian Young's *Journal*, vol. i., p. 206).

MRS. SHADFORTH. 16th Nov., 1855.

Eliza, widow of Lieut.-Col. T. Shadforth, 57th Regiment, who was killed at the head of his regiment, whilst storming the Redan before Sevastopol, 18th June, 1855.

MRS. WYATT. Dec., 1871.

Fanny H., daughter of Capt. Ryder, R.N.; married, in 1837, Col. A. F. Wyatt, C.B., who served throughout the New Zealand Campaign, and died in command of the 65th Regiment in 1869.

Suite XLVIII.—The Banqueting House.

SIR JAMES REYNETT, K.C.H. and C.B. 11th Oct. 1836. (See *ante*, pp. 331, 347, and Suite VII.)

Son of the Rev. Henry Reynett, D.D.; born in 1784; served in the 54th regiment under Sir John Moore in the Peninsula; was present at the battle of Talavera, and at the retreat from Corunna; and was secretary to the Duke of Cambridge. He married, in 1837, Eliza, eldest daughter of James Campbell, of Hampton Court. He was Lieut.-Governor of Jersey from 1847 to 1852. He died at Hampton Court in August, 1864.

MISS BALY. April, 1864.

Elizabeth, sister of Dr. Baly, who was Physician Extraordinary to the Queen, and who was killed on the South Western Railway.

Suite XLIX.—Wilderness House.

(Formerly the Head-Gardener's Residence, and as such inhabited by Lancelot Brown, see *ante*, p. 296.)

LADY ADAM, C.I.

Emily, daughter of General Sir Wm. Wyllie, G.C.B.; married, 23rd Feb., 1856, the Right Hon. William Patrick Adam, of Blair Adam, co. Kinross, M.P., Lord of the Treasury, First Commissioner of Works, and Governor of Madras. He died 24th May, 1881. On 27th Sept. his widow was nominated a member of the Order of the Crown of India, and on 24th May, 1882, was given the rank and precedence of a baronet's wife, her eldest son, Charles, being created a baronet.

Suite L.—Faraday House.

MR. WYATT.

COL. SIR HENRY WHEATLEY, K.C.H. 1835.

(?) Son of Thomas Wheatley, Secretary of the Treasury, and author of (1770) *Observations on Modern Gardening*.

PROFESSOR FARADAY. 1858. (See *ante*, p. 373.)

Michael, son of James Faraday, a blacksmith, by his wife, Margaret Hastwell, a farmer's daughter. He was born at Newington, London, in 1791. His splendid services to science are too well known to need any notice here. He married, 12th June, 1821, Miss Sarah Barnard. In 1858, he was given the house that now bears his name. "This act of royal kindness obviously delighted him, and indeed nothing could have been more delicate and considerate than the manner in which the house was offered him. It was understood to have been done at the instance of the Prince Consort, though his name never appeared in the correspondence."—*Dict. of National Biography*. He died here 25th Aug., 1867.

LADY MACGREGOR. 1867.

Mary Charlotte, daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, Bart., G.C.B., Nelson's Flag-Captain at Trafalgar, afterwards Governor of Greenwich Hospital, by his wife, afterwards Lady Seaford. Miss Hardy married, 14th Nov., 1833, Sir John Atholl Bannatyne MacGregor, Bart., who was Lieut.-Governor of the Virgin Island, and who died 11th May, 1851. Lady MacGregor's son, Evan, is Permanent Secretary of the Admiralty.

Suite LI.—"The Trophy Buildings."

(Two sets of apartments in the Outer Court or Barrack Yard, adjoining the old "Toy" inn, and extending from the Trophy Gates to the old elms. Besides the two suites, the occupants of which we cannot discriminate, there were three or four residences for royal servants and dependants. Pulled down in 1867.)

MR. AND MRS. SECKER.

(?) Mr. John Secker, who was buried at Hampton, 1785.

MISS ELIZABETH SECKER. 1795.

(?) Daughter of the foregoing. She died about Jan., 1831.

MISS ANNE SECKER. 23rd Feb., 1831.

MR. SANBY.

REV. MR. BELGRAVE.

MR. CHARLES HERBERT.

LADY CAROLINE HERBERT. 4th Oct., 1816.

COUNTESS OF CARNARVON. 1818.

(?) Elizabeth Alicia Mary, daughter of Charles, 1st Earl of Egremont; she married, 15th July, 1771, Henry Herbert, created Earl of Carnarvon in 1793. He died 3rd June, 1811, and she died 10th Feb., 1826.

DOWAGER COUNTESS OF GALLOWAY. 20th April, 1826. (See Suites V., VI., and VIII.)

MISS MARGARET BOYD. 28th Jan., 1830.

Margaret, daughter of Sir John Boyd, Bart., by Margaret, daughter of the Right Hon. Thomas Harley, son of Edward, 3rd Earl of Oxford.

THE HON. MRS. HENEAGE LEGGE. 19th Nov., 1845.

(?) Honora, eldest daughter of Rev. Walter Bagot, brother of William, 1st Lord Bagot. She married, 15th Dec., 1795, Hon. Rev. Augustus George Legge. He died in 1828, and she 2nd Oct., 1863.

LADY ELIZABETH COURTENAY. 14th June, 1848.

Eldest daughter of Henry Reginald Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, by Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas, 2nd Earl of Effingham. She was sister of William, 11th Earl of Devon, and Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte. She died 20th June, 1852.

LADY MACGREGOR. 1852. (See Suite L.)

Suite LII.—The Stud House in the House Park.

THE HON. MRS. KEPPEL. (See *ante*, p. 315.)

Laura, illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, married Hon. Frederick Keppel, fourth son of William Anne, 2nd Earl of Albemarle. Mr. Keppel afterwards became Bishop of Exeter, and Dean of Windsor, and died in 1777.

For her sister at the Pavilions, see Suite XLVII.

LORD ORANMORE (?).

EARL OF ALBEMARLE, Master of the Horse.

MARQUESS OF ORMONDE, K.P.

EARL OF ROSSLYN, Master of the Buckhounds.

MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE, K.T., Lord Chamberlain. 1853.

COLONEL SIR GEORGE ASHLEY MAUDE, K.C.B. 1865.

Second son of Hon. John Charles Maude, Rector of Enniskillen; served in the Crimea, and is Crown Equerry to the Queen. He married, April, 1845, Catherine Katinka, daughter of Charles George Beauclerk, Esq., of St. Leonard's Lodge, near Horsham. She died 1st June, 1882.

Suite LIII.—Charles II.'s Lodge, Bushey Park.

LADY ISABELLA WEMYSS. 1854.

(?) Lady Isabella Hay, daughter of William, 16th Earl of Errol, married, 14th April, 1820, Lieut.-General Wemyss, Equerry to the Queen, who died 30th Nov., 1852. Lady Isabella died 28th July, 1868.

THE EARL OF DENBIGH.

William Basil Percy, 7th Earl, father of the present Earl.

LORD AND LADY ALFRED PAGET.

Alfred Henry, C.B., M.P., second son of 1st Marquess of Anglesey, by his second wife, Lady Charlotte Cadogan, daughter of 1st Earl Cadogan. Lord Alfred was born 29th June, 1816; was a general in the army, Equerry and Clerk Marshal of the Royal Household; married, 8th April, 1847, Cecilia, second dau. and co-heiress of G. T. Wyndham, Esq., of Cromer Hall, Norfolk, by Maria, his wife, Countess of Listowel. He died Aug., 1888.

Names of Persons whose apartments are unidentified.

REV. DR. LILLINGTON, LL.D. 31st Jan., 1775.

MRS. MARY HAMILTON and MRS. PHILIPPA HAMILTON in the Lord Chamberlain's Secretary's Lodgings.

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